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ABSTRACT

The California Conservation Corps (CCC), an amalgam of residential and non-residential centers, was established in 1977. It was designed to accomplish useful work for natural resource agencies and help youth between the ages of 18 and 23 develop a mature work attitude and the ability to function cooperatively as they live and work together. Based on observations made in 1983 and 1984, this report evaluates the CCC and discusses the following: (1) history; (2) staffing and structure; (3) participants; (4) work program; (5) corpsmember development; (6) daily life; (7) costs; (8) reorganization; and (9) long-term issues. A final chapter discusses research conclusions and lessons that can benefit other corps. The program appears to generate a genuine corps spirit among enrollees and staff alike. Its emphasis on intensive supervision, work accomplishment, non-targeted eligibility, and high quality programming have met the CCC's legislative objectives. (PS)

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The California Conservation Corps

A Report on Implementation

October 1985

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The California Conservation Corps

A Report on Implementation

by David Lah
Wendy Wolf

October 1985

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines the implementation and operation of the California Conservation Corps program. The purpose of the report is three-fold:

- to give the CCC an outside, independent perspective on its own operations;
- to provide background for the quantitative findings to be presented in later reports generated by the P/PV evaluation; and
- to help others learn how the CCC operates.

The report draws on process evaluation data developed during interviews with more than 100 CCC staff at all levels, corpsmembers, work sponsors and employment service counselors who refer youth to the program; visits to most CCC centers and numerous work sites; and observations of center directors' meetings in Sacramento and San Francisco, staff meetings at several centers, general corpsmember meetings at three centers, and educational classes at both residential and non-residential sites. The report also reviews data presented in detail in two other reports in this series on the CCC -- An Analysis of Participant Characteristics and Assessing the Dollar Value of Its Work.

During the period of study, the CCC has undergone a transition in state government, changes in its own top level administration and a major reorganization. The reorganization has resulted in significant program modifications:

- 23 residential and three non-residential centers have been consolidated into 18 residential centers, 20 groups of crews have been established as non-residential satellites to the residential centers, and important changes have been made in center structure and staffing.
- the proportion of CCC participants enrolled at non-residential sites has increased from 13 percent to 25 percent; and,
- overall, cost-per-slot has dropped, in real dollars, from $20,000 to $17,000 a year.

Since most of P/PV's observations were made in 1983 and 1984, we can only make tentative conclusions about some of the more recent changes.

CONCLUSIONS

The CCC is clearly meeting its legislative objectives. Useful work is being accomplished for natural resource agencies, corpsmembers are developing work maturity and learning to function cooperatively as they live and work together, the program appears to generate genuine corps spirit, and the general public as well as public officials are enthusiastic about the Corps.

The Work Component

- The projects meet the CCC's objective of conserving natural resources in the state and addressing long-term conservation needs that have been identified by the state's natural resources agencies.
- Work of value to California is being done. Work sponsors generally report that CCC projects accomplish necessary work that would be difficult or impossible to do without CCC labor and supervision.
- Corpsmembers work hard and productively. Based upon our observations and interviews with work sponsors, the CCC enables corpsmembers to learn what it means to put in a full day's work. This is a consequence of the Corps' policy of ensuring conscientious supervision and a constant flow of jobs, materials and supplies -- all reinforced by the crew system.
- Most analyses of the dollar value of CCC work suggest that the benefits of the work alone equal or exceed the cost of the entire program.

Youth Development

- The CCC has been most successful in helping corpsmembers develop mature attitudes toward work and the self-confidence that comes from accomplishing difficult and worthwhile tasks.
- The CCC has also been effective in bringing youth of different backgrounds together and making it possible for them to live and work together cooperatively.
- Until the beginning of 1985, the Corps had been less effective in its attempts to provide remedial education. However, strengthened offerings in this area were being implemented during the closing months of the P/PV study. These offerings show promise in dealing with corpsmembers' educational needs.
- The CCC has not emphasized providing youth with pre-employment skills, nor has it done systematic job development for exiting corpsmembers.

Corpsmember Characteristics

- Despite its untargeted elibility requirements, the CCC serves large proportions of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth.
- 70 percent of corpsmembers entering during the term of the study were found to be at risk in the labor market; that is, their income and family situations would have made them JTPA-eligible, they lacked a high school degree of any kind, or both.
- During the study period, 56 percent of entering corpsmembers were white, 26 percent were black and 14 percent were Hispanic.
- The proportion of young women in the Corps fluctuates from year to year. Among entering corpsmembers in 1984-85, the proportion was one-fourth; in 1983, it was 38 percent.
- Comparisons with 1980 census data suggest that:
  - each year, the CCC serves less than one half of one percent of the eligible population of 18- to 23-year-olds in California;
  - the CCC is enrolling disproportionately large numbers of black youth, but is underserving Hispanics in proportion to their population in the state;
  - among blacks, Hispanics and whites, the CCC serves disproportionately large numbers of high school dropouts and economically disadvantaged youth.
- The non-residential component of the CCC serves higher proportions of young women and minority youth than the residential component of the program.

Costs

- The CCC's FY 1985-86 budget is $43.7 million. Adjusted for inflation and special items in the CCC budget, this figure has remained essentially constant during the past three years.
- In real dollars, cost-per-slot declined from close to $20,000 in FY 1983-84 to $17,435 in the FY 1985-86 budget.

- More than 40 percent of CCC expenditures supports corpsmember wages and fringe benefits, and roughly 33 percent is allocated to staff salaries and benefits.
- Though the CCC is a predominantly residential program, less than 5 percent of the budget is spent on corpsmember room and board, in part because enrollees reimburse the Corps for these costs from their wages.
- Residential slots are more expensive than non-residential ones, but the differential is not as large as might be expected. Cost-per-slot differentials in the CCC can be as low as $2,346 if certain assumptions about apportioning costs are made.

Long-Range Issues

During the remainder of the decade, the CCC will face a number of basic issues which, depending upon how they are resolved, could fundamentally modify the nature of the CCC experience. These include:

- Non-residential satellites. The development of non-residential satellites in urban areas has made it possible for the Corps to serve more young women and minority youth, to expand the number of geographic areas it serves and to increase the number of corpsmembers and therefore the amount of work done. At the same time, questions arise about the relative intensity, consistency and closeness of adult supervision in satellite programs, and the degree of identification with the CCC among non-residential corpsmembers. Possible differences, in turn, raise questions about the relative productivity of crews from non-residential centers and the relative effectiveness of remediation in non-residential programs.
- Individual placement of entering corpsmembers. Since 1984, some entering corpsmembers have been placed as interns in state parks to perform maintenance and clerical duties. While such placements provide additional work for corpsmembers, they represent a fundamental departure from the Corps' system of work crews and CCC worksite supervision. An increase in individual placements could lead to a loss of control over assignments and worksite discipline and a change in the quality of supervision.
- Expansion. There are four factors that will determine whether or not the CCC will expand: the availability of work, youth, and funds and an assessment of whether or not a greatly enlarged Corps

could maintain its essential character. Among these factors, the availability of funds appears to be the only one in question. It seems clear that there is more than enough work available and more than enough eligible youth. Staff believe that the program could grow substantially and maintain its organizational integrity, cohesion and spirit. As for how the corps might expand, there appear to be four options: expand the CCC through contracts with other, locally-based corps; establish more non-residential satellites; open more residential centers; or provide funds to local governments to operate their own crews under CCC general supervision.

- Corpsmember development. Though the CCC's link with community colleges represents a large step toward improving educational services, much more needs to be done to help corpsmembers increase their educational levels and their employability. Solutions will have to be found for the logistical conflict between work and education, and increases in staff and budget may be required.

CHARACTERISTIC DESIGN FEATURES

The CCC's relatively long-term success is based not only upon the apparently appealing idea of bringing necessary work and youth together in a service corps -- an idea that has been found attractive by the whole political spectrum in California -- but on some of the CCC's specific design features. These include:

- Emphasis on the accomplishment of work. Primacy is given to the work program, which includes projects of significant ecological benefit and response to such emergencies as floods and forest and wildland fires.

- Conduct of work in crews supervised by CCC staff. This system ensures that corpsmembers are learning the work ethic, that quality work is produced, and that corpsmembers are not assigned menial or make-work tasks.

- High-quality supervision. Providing quality adult supervision has been a high priority for the CCC. The low corpsmember-supervisor ratio -- plus the active headquarters staff in Sacramento and attention to corpsmember development activities -- requires a budget that is relatively high among youth employment efforts: cost-per-slot ranges between $17,000 and $20,000 per year.

- Residential design. A high proportion of CCC enrollees work from residential centers. Our observations suggest that Corps spirit, friendship and acceptance of individuals from different backgrounds are more likely to develop in a residential setting. The residential design also facilitates the program's ability to respond to fire and flood emergencies.

- Untargeted eligibility. The CCC does not restrict enrollment to youth from economically and/or educationally disadvantaged families but, nevertheless, enrolls a high proportion of such youth. Staff and enrollees report satisfaction with the results of this policy; they perceive its benefits as providing a broad constituency, avoiding the possible stigma of a "program for the poor," and deriving the advantages of having youth from different backgrounds teaching and learning from each other.

- Large scale of operations. The CCC's size -- 1,900 corpsmembers in 18 residential centers and 20 non-residential satellites -- makes possible economies of scale and synergistic effects not possible for smaller programs. The presence of a large headquarters staff and a training academy are functions of the program's size, as are state-wide public relations, the wide-ranging work program and the Corps' ability to respond to emergencies.

- Training academy. The first three weeks of life in the corps is spent at the training academy, a rigorous experience that promotes cohesion through common experience. Those who make it through this initial experience share an understanding of corps requirements, develop some initial confidence and establish a degree of determination that tends to carry over to the remainder of their time in the CCC.

LESSONS FOR OTHER YOUTH CORPS PROGRAMS

Apart from the design features already discussed, the CCC offers other youth employment programs a variety of operational lessons:

- The strength of a work component appears to rest upon the following factors: the work itself is given priority over all other aspects of the program; control is maintained over corpsmembers at the worksite by crew supervisors; and a surplus of projects is maintained so that crews can be shifted to other work sites if materials are not available, if the work to be done is not as agreed upon with the sponsor, or if safety or union problems arise.

- Trained work crews composed of corpsmembers can provide an emergency response capability that functions effectively, fills a strong regional need and contributes substantially to a corps' public support.

- Youth development occurs primarily through the medium of work. Work provides corpsmembers opportunities to develop work maturity, self-confidence and some occupational skills. Additional features that encourage youth development include residential centers, a basic training center, promotional opportunities for crew leaders, and training opportunities for selected corpsmembers in areas relating to conservation work.

- The provision of remedial education has been difficult, primarily because of the conflict between classes and the work program and because participants tend to be youth whose histories include little success or interest in formal schooling.

- The diversity and background of corps participants demand staff with special characteristics: they must be prepared to give corpsmembers substantial attention, they must be trained and available to deal with a variety of problems, and they must be qualified to provide corpsmember development activities that cover a wide range of enrollee needs and interests. The CCC has been able to recruit such staff.

- Locating non-residential centers or satellites in urban areas can markedly increase the proportion of minority youth and young women attracted to a conservation corps.

- Finally, observations of the CCC suggest the advantages of having control over all aspects of programming, from recruitment and training to supervision at the worksite. Such control tends to encourage corpsmembers to identify with the corps rather than with the work sponsor, to insure that discipline and production are maintained at work sites, and to foster the development of corps spirit.

INTRODUCTION

The California Conservation Corps (CCC) is a state-funded program with dual goals: conducting useful conservation work and serving youth. It constitutes a department within the State Resources Agency, and has been in operation since 1977. With a current budget of $44 million per year, the CCC operates 18 residential and non-residential centers throughout California, has a staff of 386 and an enrollment of roughly 1,900 youth between the ages of 18 and 23.

The California Conservation Corps belongs to a special class of youth programs that includes the original Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s, the more recent Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) and Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) programs, and nearly 30 currently operating, year-round state and local conservation corps programs. Collectively, these youth conservation corps efforts differ from more typical youth employment and training programs in a number of ways -- most notably, in their primary emphasis on productive work; the intensity and quality of adult supervision; their generally untargeted eligibility criteria; and their concern for developing in youth a feeling of corps spirit, the value of service to community and pride in achievement.

Corpsmembers in the CCC work on conservation-related projects in cooperation with other natural resource agencies in California. These projects include reforestation, park development, salmon restoration, energy conservation, wildlife habitat improvement work and response to fire and flood emergencies. Youth enroll in the program for one year as regular corpsmembers, but can stay an additional year if they are promoted to the position of crew-leader or specialist. Corpsmembers attend a training academy for three weeks prior to center assignment. Residential CCC centers have enrollments of 72 corpsmembers; non-residential CCC sites have enrollments of between 15 and 45. A headquarters staff in Sacramento coordinates the program's policies and operation.

The California Conservation Corps is the oldest, by far the largest, and widely perceived to be the most successful of all currently operating youth conservation corps programs. It has served as a model, or at least a point of departure, for the design of several recently initiated state and local conservation corps programs. Because of its predominantly residential design, the CCC resembles the original Civilian Conservation Corps. A number of its projects have high public visibility. For all of these reasons, the CCC is one of the most exciting and well-publicized youth programs now in existence. It has been featured in articles in Smithsonian and Life has been the subject of a documentary televised on PBS, and has been the focus of editorials in the New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, and other newspapers.

This report examines the implementation and operation of the CCC program. It is one of a series of reports from an overall evaluation of the CCC that Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) is conducting. Other reports in this series include analyses of CCC participant characteristics; work value; participant attrition and participants' experiences after they leave the program. The evaluation is funded by The Ford Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the State of California. This implementation report will also be part of a broader study of youth corps programs P/PV is conducting for the Ford Foundation.

The purpose of the report is two-fold -- to help other youth programs learn more about how the CCC operates and to give the CCC some perspective on its own operations from an outside, independent source. The research effort included interviews with roughly 100 CCC staff at all levels in the agency and with corpsmembers, work sponsors, and employment service counselors who refer youth to the program, visits to almost all CCC centers -- ranging from Del Norte on the Oregon border to San Diego in the South -- to the training academy, numerous work sites, center directors' meetings in Sacramento and San Francisco, staff meetings at several centers, general corpsmember meetings at three centers, and educational classes at both residential and non-residential sites.

However, during the period of study, the CCC has undergone many changes. It has been through the transition in state government from Governor Brown to Governor Deukmejian, a change in its own top level administration, (and departure of several veteran staffers), and a fairly major reorganization. Many changes have been made during the tenure of the most recent director; Bud Sheble. Even so, the program is not in a steady or equilibrium state. The CCC is a moving train with elements changing monthly. These transitions have necessarily complicated our task. Since the vast majority of our observations were in 1983 and 1984, we can only make tentative conclusions about some of the more recent changes.

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Chapter I gives an overview of the history of the CCC. Chapters II through VI describe the CCC program: Chapter II discusses staffing and structure, Chapter III describes participants in the program, Chapter IV discusses the CCC's work program, Chapter V describes corpsmember development activities, and Chapter VI profiles life in the CCC. Chapter VII provides detailed information on program costs and finances. Chapter VIII discusses the program's recent reorganization. Chapter IX discusses long-term issues that face the CCC. Chapter X provides research conclusions and suggests lessons learned from the CCC program that may be useful to other youth corps efforts.

I. HISTORY OF THE CCC

On July 7, 1976, Governor Edmund Brown signed a bill creating the California Conservation Corps (CCC). The bill was passed at Governor Brown's initiative. Its purpose was to re-create -- at the state level -- the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s. Establishment of a California CCC was authorized for a five-year period, with appropriations of $5 million for the first year. The legislation mandated four objectives for the program:

- to further the development and maintenance of the natural resources and environment of California through the work of the state's young men and women;
- to benefit the youth of the state by providing meaningful educational and work opportunity;
- to provide on-the-job training for youth to acquire employable skills, experience and knowledge; and
- to benefit the public by accomplishing useful public works.

The CCC program was designed by a group of consultants that included a Catholic priest, a Ph.D. from Princeton, a South Carolina football player, a homesteader, an M.A. in horticulture and an urban planner. This group devised a program -- untargeted, residential, open to young men and women, with about 60 corpsmembers per center, with uniforms and a training academy, and with an emphasis on corpsmember development as well as work accomplishment -- which has remained essentially unchanged to this day.

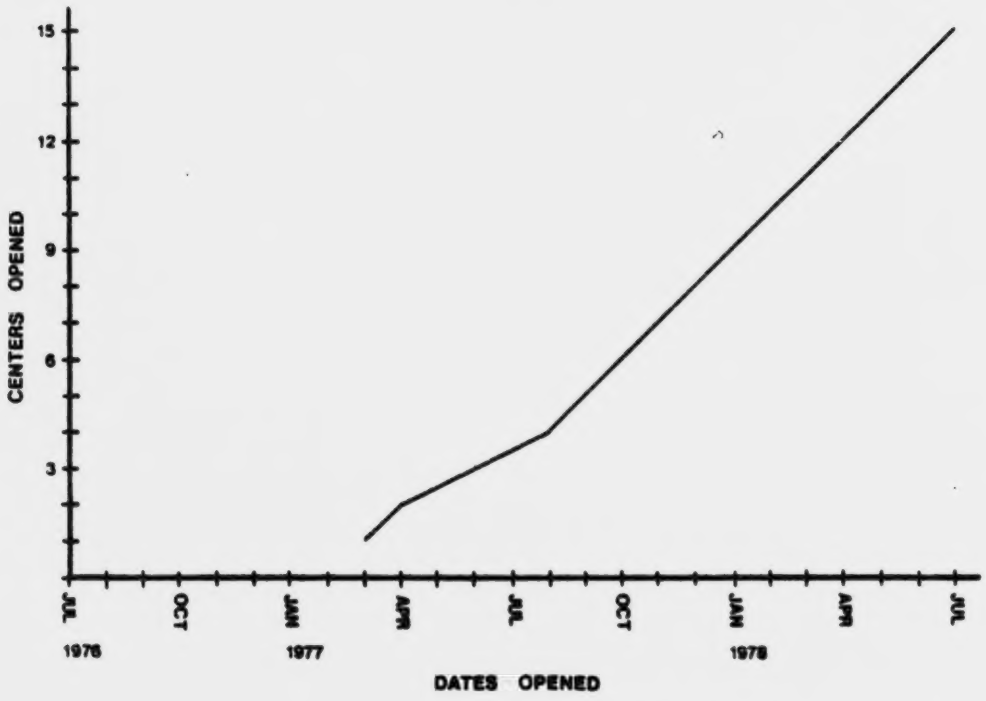
The program was slow getting started -- the first center did not open for seven months. But after the initial lull, growth was rapid and centers began opening at a rate of roughly one a month. By June 1978, there were 15 centers with a total enrollment of over 1,400 corpsmembers. By November 1979, there were 1,700 corpsmembers enrolled in 22 base centers. Figure 1 depicts the growth of CCC centers during the corps' first two years. Figure 2 charts the growth, and subsequent changes, in CCC corpsmember strength between 1977 and 1985.

Early Years

From the start, the CCC was seen as a program of special interest to Governor Brown and received a great deal of support from the Governor's office. The first director was Boyd Horner, a lawyer, and most initial staff came from state natural resource agencies. Early implementation involved finding appropriate facilities for the residential centers. Over 200 locations were evaluated in an effort to find facilities adequate to house, feed, train, educate and be a home to 60 corpsmembers and 14 staff. Fire and health

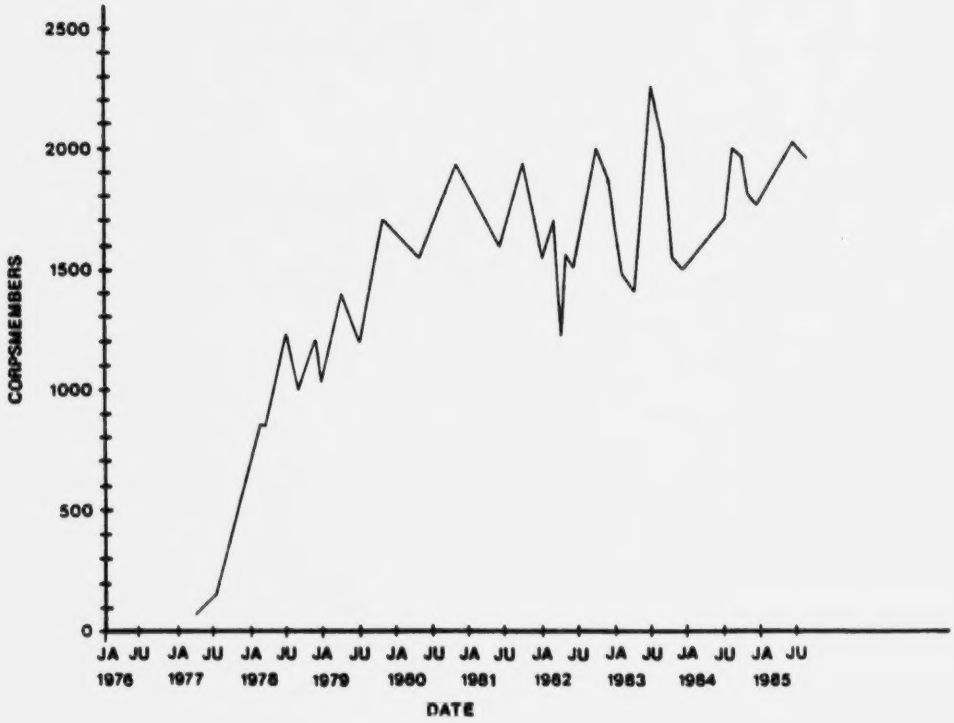
FIGURE 1

CENTER OPENINGS
DURING FIRST 2 YEARS
OF CCC PROGRAM



LEGISLATION SIGNED IN JULY, 1976

FIGURE 2
AVERAGE POPULATION
OF THE CCC
1976 - 1985



codes had to be followed and environmental impact reports had to be prepared. The first center was to be opened in October 1976, but the process dragged to February 1977. It was eventually decided that though Horner was a man of ideas, he was not an implementor; he was replaced by Leroy Chatfield.

Chatfield was a former seminarian and organizer for the United Farm Workers, a hard-driving administrator. During his term, the CCC opened a center every month and grew into a full-fledged program with a budget of over $20 million a year. Also during Chatfield's term of office, the federally-funded Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) was created and the CCC took over administration of the California state component of that program.

Chatfield was successful in expanding the CCC, but he was less effective in dealing with the legislature and the press. During his tenure, the CCC came under intense criticism -- in part because of real problems in the program caused by rapid expansion and in part because of press antagonism towards Governor Jerry Brown.

The B. T. Collins Years

In the spring of 1979, Governor Brown appointed B. T. Collins, his deputy legislative lobbyist, as CCC director. The Los Angeles Times described the new director as: "an American original, a 40-year-old ex-Green Beret . . . variously described as candid, irreverant, blustery, perceptive, foul-mouthed and devastatingly charming."

Collins inherited an organization from Chatfield that was sharply divided -- perhaps the deepest division being between those loyal to or antagonistic to Chatfield. In Collins' two-and-one-half years as director, the CCC continued to have its internal divisions, but the public image of the Corps turned around. Collins was a master of public relations. He coined a new motto for the Corps: "Hard work, low pay, miserable conditions." He tersely summarized CCC rules already in existence, "no booze, no dope, no violence, no destruction of state property, no refusal to work." He drafted a "nasty letter" that all new corpsmembers were required to sign, in which they agreed to "do dirty, back-breaking work in rain, high winds, intense heat, snow, mud, and cold mountain streams." His standard speech to new recruits included the following:

> "I do not care about you. I am not concerned with your happiness. I am concerned with the expenditure of taxpayers' dollars. I know I'm going to work you to death, and I know you're going to work hard or I'll fire you."

Film clips of CCC youth fighting forest fires and sandbagging levees during floods soon began appearing on evening TV news programs. Newspaper articles became positive rather than negative. The state legislature, impressed by the Corps' new public image and courted by Collins' revamped legislative staff, was won over. In 1980, the legislature extended the CCC five more years until 1985, with an annual budget of over $30 million a year. With its response to the Mediterranean fruit fly emergency in 1981, the CCC reached a high point of public acclaim.

Recent Years

In October 1981, Collins returned to Governor Brown's staff and was succeeded by John Dugan, Collins' chief deputy director, a much-decorated career Army officer. For the most part, Dugan continued the program as it was run under Collins. Its public image remained good. During Dugan's administration, feature articles on the CCC appeared in Smithsonian and Life, and a documentary on the CCC was shown on public TV. Also during Dugan's tenure, the federal YACC program was terminated and California became one of only two states to maintain conservation corps programs without federal funds. The program prospered and even more sites were anticipated.

In November of 1982, George Deukmejian was elected governor of California. As a Republican and fiscal conservative, Deukmejian was expected to oppose the CCC; but its success and legislative support helped convince the new administration to continue the program.

Dugan continued as director until the summer of 1983, when Deukmejian appointed a new director, Bud Sheble, whose background included work on youth development for the YMCA.

During Governor Deukmejian's first year in office, the CCC budget was cut by 5 percent -- from $37 million to $35 million -- and $3.2 million of the new budget was mandated to come from project reimbursements rather than state general funds.

In a critical early decision, Sheble determined that all budget cuts would reduce staff rather than corpsmember strength. Faced with a $2 million cut, coupled with a determination to serve more youth with less overhead, he embarked on a major reorganization. During the first two years of Sheble's tenure, 26 centers were consolidated into 18, independent non-residential centers were replaced by a system of non-residential satellites attached to residential centers, the proportion of corpsmembers at non-residential sites increased from 13 percent to 25 percent and staffing patterns at centers were changed.

The past two years have been marked by change in the CCC. The decision to maintain corpsmember strength by absorbing budget cuts through reorganization created considerable uncertainty for staff. As a result, a number of experienced work crew supervisors and work coordinators left and found other jobs early in the reorganization period. A number of higher-level staff who had been responsible for the design and successful development of the CCC also moved on during this period, while new senior level staff with different orientations and perspectives were hired.

The FY 1985-86 budget reflects the growing support of the Deukmejian administration for the CCC. State funding for the program has increased to $44 million. Additionally, the CCC will receive $5 million in state funds this year for the purchase of its training academy facility. Thus, during Sheble's leadership, the budget of the CCC has increased markedly.

II. STAFFING AND STRUCTURE OF THE CCC

The CCC is one of several departments within the state's Resources Agency, which exercises general policy direction. Like the Departments of Fish and Game, Parks and Recreation, and Forestry, the CCC has substantial independence in the day-to-day operations of its administrative, public affairs and legislative liaison staff. Also like the other departments in the Resources Agency, the CCC has its own identity. Staff and corpsmembers wear uniforms clearly identifying themselves as part of the CCC; its crews working for other natural resource agencies clearly belong to the CCC rather than to the sponsoring agency.

The CCC structure has both centralized and decentralized elements. The large headquarters unit, the training academy and the use of regional deputies to oversee centers serve to centralize the CCC -- providing a common set of policies and a common set of experiences for all corpsmembers. At the same time, staff at the CCC's 18 centers have latitude in setting their own management style and developing their own work projects and corpsmember development activities.

The CCC and its staff are responsible for most program elements from the day youth enroll until they leave. CCC staff conducts intake and registration, gives training and orientation at the academy, develops work projects at centers, supervises the work, and provides many youth development services. The exceptions include the following: the state Employment Development Department (EDD) recruits residential corpsmembers; work sponsors provide technical supervision as well as materials and supplies necessary to complete projects; and community colleges provide educational and other supplementary services.

This chapter describes in detail the structure and staffing pattern of the CCC, first, at headquarters, second, at centers, and third, at the training academy.

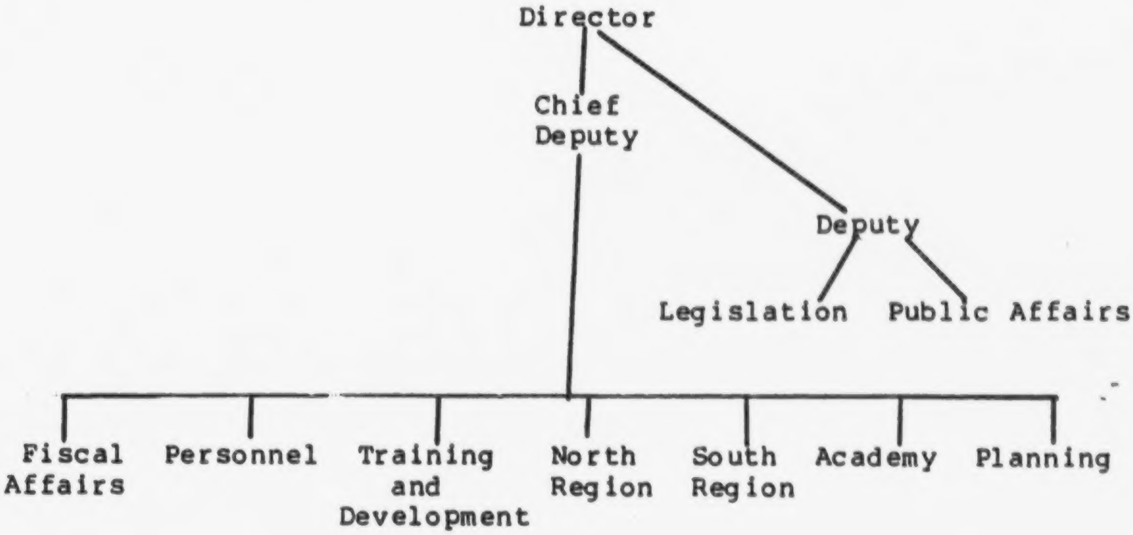
Headquarters Staff

For FY 1984-85, the CCC has a total staff of 386 -- 72 at headquarters and the remainder at local centers. Headquarters staff includes a director, two deputy directors, two regional directors, and special units for planning corpsmember development and training. Personnel, legislation, public affairs, management and budgeting, and business services are also handled at headquarters. Figure 3 is the organizational chart of the CCC's central office.

The director of the CCC is appointed by the Governor, and reports to the Secretary of Resources. The director has authority to organize the operations, sets the overall tone and is highly visible. All corpsmembers know who the director is; most hear

Figure 3

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF STAFFING AT CCC HEADQUARTERS


Director
Chief Deputy
Deputy
Legislation
Public Affairs
Fiscal Affairs
Personnel
Training and Development
North Region
South Region
Academy
Planning

him give an introductory speech when they enter the training academy.

The four deputy directors are each appointed by the CCC director. The chief deputy director is in charge of operations. All other deputies and all units at headquarters report through the chief deputy to the director. The deputy in charge of legislation and public affairs represents the CCC in dealings with the legislature and supervises the public affairs officer and legislative liaison officer. The two regional deputies oversee the centers in their region. The Northern regional deputy is based near San Francisco, the Southern regional deputy in San Luis Obispo. The 18 area managers report to the two regional deputies.

The planning section at headquarters is responsible for work project development. In general, CCC work is divided into local, regional and state-wide projects. The planning staff at headquarters develops state-wide projects, coordinates the CCC's response to emergencies and provides guidelines and technical assistance to centers in developing local projects. It is also responsible for reporting requirements in connection with the work program, including documentation of corpsmember work hours by center and by work category.

The training and development section is responsible for educational and supplementary services -- all the non-work aspects of a corpsmember's life. It develops new ideas and provides technical assistance for the center's evening educational program, helps set CCC policies on corpsmember discipline and grievance rights, and assists local centers on career development and job placement for corpsmembers. It coordinates internship and other special opportunities such as corpsmember exchanges with youth programs in Canada and England, and arranges staff training.

The fiscal affairs branch at headquarters handles both accounting and business services. The personnel unit is responsible not only for CCC staff issues, but also for recruitment of residential corpsmembers and liaison with EDD. The fiscal affairs and personnel branches have the largest number of staff at headquarters.

Center Staffing

The CCC has 18 centers, most with both residential and non-residential components. In all cases, the residential site is the base center and the non-residential site is the satellite. Each residential center has an enrollment of 72 corpsmembers, except for the Placer Energy Center, which has an enrollment of 105. Non-residential satellites vary in size from 15 to 45 corpsmembers.

The area manager and center administrator at each base center are responsible for both the residential center and its satellites. Their offices are at the residential center. A typical center has a staff of 17 under the area manager and center administrator. Figure 4 is the organizational chart for staffing at the center level.

The Civil Service job classification for area managers is Conservationist Administrator II (CA-II) and that of center administrators is Conservationist Administrator I (CA-I). Most individuals in these positions have been with the CCC for several years. They come from a variety of backgrounds, ranging from probation officer to teacher. Most current CA-IIs entered the CCC as center directors -- a position that has recently been split into the area manager and center administrator functions. Some current CA-Is were center directors when the CCC had a larger number of centers. Other CA-Is entered the CCC as Conservationist IIs.

In general, CA-IIs are involved in community outreach and long-range planning, while CA-Is are involved in the day-to-day operation of the center. CA-IIs also have statewide responsibilities and serve on CCC planning committees.

The staff person ranking just below area manager and center administrator is the work project coordinator. The civil service job classification for this position is Conservationist II (C-II). At residential camps, C-IIs are responsible for developing work projects in the local community and for scheduling CCC work crews to accomplish the work. The C-II is the camp work superintendent: Six work crew supervisors at each residential center report directly to him/her. The C-II makes out a weekly schedule of crew assignments, is responsible for making sure the crews get out of the center each morning, and handles difficulties the crew supervisors may have.

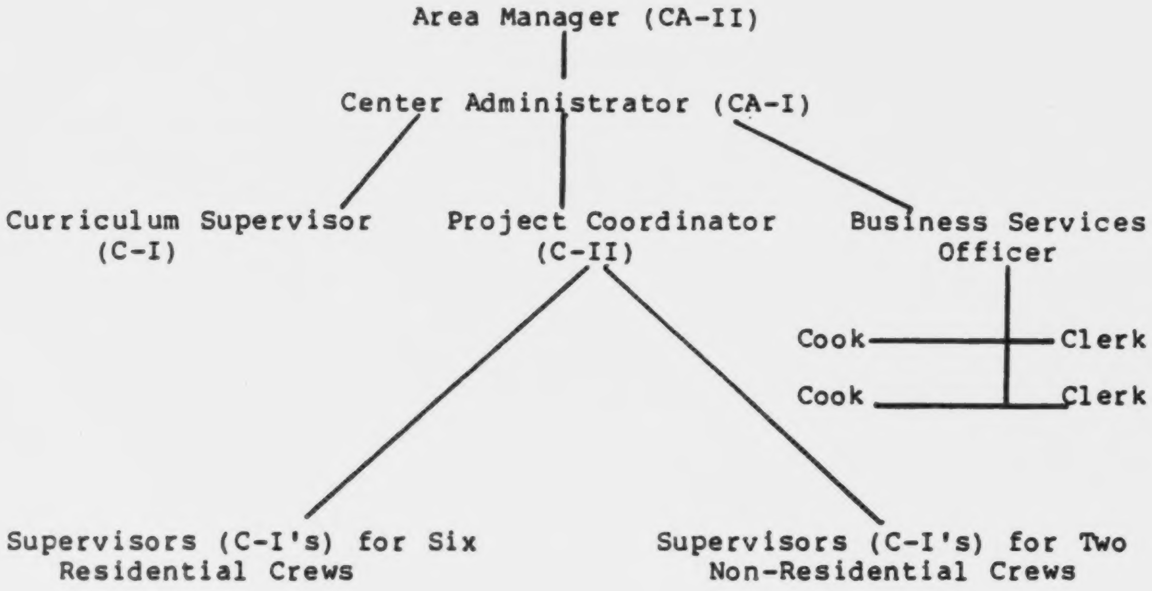
The C-II is a critical position in the CCC. Prior to this year, when the center administrator position was created, C-IIs served as assistant center directors. Even now, when center directors and assistant center directors are not available, C-IIs are responsible for overall center operation. Most current C-IIs entered the CCC either at the C-II level or as work crew supervisors.

Work crew supervisors are in charge of crews of 10 to 15 corpsmembers each. They report to the center in the morning and drive their crews to the worksite in CCC vans. On the job, they act as working supervisors, at times supervising and at times working with the corpsmembers. The Civil Service classification of crew supervisors is Conservationist I (C-I). Most C-Is in the CCC are in their late 20s or early 30s. Many have been in the CCC for several years.

Work supervisors in the CCC come from varied backgrounds. Some have worked in construction trades and some have worked in other youth programs, such as the YACC. Recently, the position has some holders of advanced degrees in natural sciences. In earlier years, the CCC encouraged former corpsmembers to take the civil

Figure 4

ORGANIZATION CHART OF A TYPICAL CCC CENTER
(72 residential slots and 45 non-residential slots)


Area Manager (CA-II)
Center Administrator (CA-I)
Curriculum Supervisor (C-I)
Project Coordinator (C-II)
Business Services Officer
Cook
Clerk
Cook
Clerk
Supervisors (C-I's) for Six Residential Crews
Supervisors (C-I's) for Two Non-Residential Crews

service test and return as C-Is, but some ex-corpsmembers who became C-Is were simply too young to serve effectively. The CCC now encourages corpsmembers who want to become C-Is to first accumulate work experience elsewhere and then apply for a C-I position in the CCC.

C-Is are the staff persons with whom corpsmembers have most contact. They constitute the main adult role model for a member of the CCC. In this sense, the C-I position is critical. C-Is are responsible for their crews from the time they leave camp in the morning until they return in the afternoon. They maintain discipline on the job, direct physical work, ensure safe work practices, maintain control in unusual situations and counsel corpsmembers as needed.

At each residential center, one C-I is assigned responsibility for weekend recreation and evening education programs which include guest speakers and G.E.D. and college classes in the area. At some centers, C-Is rotate into this position. At other centers, a C-I with a special interest in education may be permanently assigned.

Support staff at residential centers include a business services officer, two clerks, a supervisory cook and an assistant cook. Residential centers also have one or two non-Civil Service positions titled "special corpsmembers". The function of this position varies, but most centers use it for night duty personnel. Residential centers vary in how they handle night duty. Some centers hire college students, others hire retired individuals. Some centers take care of night duty simply by hiring professional security guards.

The four largest (45-corpsmember capacity) non-residential satellites are staffed by a C-II and three C-I crew supervisors. The C-II is responsible for day-to-day operations, but general policy is set by the area manager and administrator at the residential base center. While the C-II at residential centers develops and coordinates work projects for six or seven crews, a satellite C-II handles three crews, but is also responsible for recruitment of non-residential corpsmembers, designing educational programs and participating in various community outreach activities. Larger non-residential satellites also have non-Civil Service "special corpsmember" positions to fill at their discretion, usually with recreation, education or recruitment staff.

The remaining 30-corpsmember and 15-corpsmember satellites are staffed only by the C-Is who supervise work crews. Again, general policies for these satellites are set by the area manager and administrator of the residential base center. The work coordinator at the base center handles project development for the smaller satellites.

Staffing at the Training Academy

Because so many new recruits enter the corps at one time, the training academy has special staffing needs. In a typical month, 270 corpsmembers arrive for three weeks of basic training. The academy has an area manager, two center administrators, three C-IIs and eleven C-Is. In addition, 64 corpsmembers are permanently assigned to the academy to operate the facility and help with orientation and training.

During the fourth week of each month, when new enrollees are not there, the academy is used for training of new C-Is and corpsmembers who are becoming crewleaders. Most C-Is and crewleaders who train entering corpsmembers are themselves in training for their new positions.

Support staff for the academy, larger than at field centers, includes a nurse, a maintenance engineer, a mechanic, and three supervisory cooks who also train corpsmembers who want to become cooks in the CCC.

III. PARTICIPANTS IN THE CCC

The CCC is open to young men and women who are residents of California and who are between the ages of 18 and 23. Unlike most government sponsored youth employment programs, the CCC does not explicitly target the economically disadvantaged. Applicants do need to complete a medical examination before entering, but youth with physical limitations can apply to the Corps under special provisions. Entering corpsmembers are fingerprinted and youth with felony convictions for violent crimes are not admitted -- primarily to protect other corpsmembers.

This chapter describes participants in the CCC, their demographic, family background and educational characteristics; and differences by sex and residential status. It also describes recruitment and selection procedures and includes tables listing how corpsmembers first heard about the CCC and why they decided to join the CCC. Participant data derive from an intake survey given to entering corpsmembers on their first full day at the training academy. The survey covered corpsmembers who entered the CCC during the 12-month period from November 1983 to October 1984. (For a more extensive report on participants in the CCC, see The California Conservation Corps: An Analysis of Participant Characteristics, P/PV 1985).

Table 1 presents data on general characteristics of entering corpsmembers. The information is presented for the overall sample and separately for men and women. During the 12-month period, women constituted 24 percent of the corpsmembers. The percentage of entering corpsmembers who are women fluctuates from year to year, and has been as high as 38 percent as recently as 1983.

There are a variety of possible explanations for why women are less likely than men to apply for the CCC:

- the heavy, physical labor of the CCC probably appeals more broadly to men than women;
- the CCC draws its applicants mainly from non-college youth, and non-college women in the 18-23 range are more likely to be married or have children than their male counterparts; the CCC attracts only small numbers of women who are married or who have children;
- EDD counselors report that some parents do not allow their daughters to join the program because of its residential nature and its traditionally "male work." The proportion of women in the CCC is about the same as that in the Job Corps, and about twice that of recruits in the armed forces.

Fifty-six percent of the corpsmembers in the sample are white; roughly one quarter are black; and 14 percent are Hispanic. Based on comparisons with census data from California, it appears that in 1984 the program served a greater proportion of blacks than occurs in the general population of youth in California, but a lower proportion of Hispanics.

The family background data presented in Table 1 indicate that a fair percentage of corpsmembers grew up in poor families. Nearly 40 percent of entering corpsmembers reported growing up in families that received either AFDC or foodstamps. Based on foodstamp, AFDC, foster child and self-reported income data, we estimate that 48 percent of entering corpsmembers were JTPA-eligible.

Table 2 presents information on the educational background of corpsmembers. They show a high rate of educational disadvantage. Corpsmembers do not come, for the most part, from the pre-college population:

- only 35 percent of young men and 55 percent of young women have regular high school degrees;
- 48 percent of entering corpsmembers have no high school degree of any kind;
- only 12 percent of men and 21 percent of women came from the academic or college preparatory curriculum in high school; and
- 1 percent of men and 2 percent of women attended a four-year college.

Combining information in Tables 1 and 2, we estimate that 70 percent of entering corpsmembers are at risk in the labor market; that is, are either JTPA-eligible or had no high school degree of any kind.

Table 1

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS, BY SEX
November 1983 to October 1984

	Men	Women	Total
White	55%	57%	56%
Black	26	23	26
Hispanic	13	15	14
Grew up in metropolitan area	62	60	62
Lived with both parents while growing up	59	57	58
Five or more children in family	33	32	33
Family ever received AFDC or foodstamps while growing up	39	40	39
Living with parents at intake	65	61*	64
Estimated to be JTPA-eligible	49	46	48
At risk in the labor market	72	62*	70
Number in sample	2460	766	3226

*Indicates statistically significant difference from males at the .05 level.

Table 2

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS, BY SEX
November 1983 to October 1984

	Men	Women	Total
Mean years of education	11.3	11.7*	11.4
Regular high school degree	35	55*	40
GED	13	09*	12
Neither	52	36*	48
Academic curriculum in H.S.	12	21*	14
Business/Trade	17	20*	18
General curriculum	67	57*	64
No curriculum	02	03*	04
A student in high school	03	05*	03
B student	26	39*	29
C or lower student	71	56*	68
Attended Four-Year College	01	02*	02
Attended Junior or Community College	08	15*	09

*Indicates statistically significant difference from males at the .05 level.

Table 3

PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE OF ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS, BY SEX

	Men	Women	Total
No pre-program job	13%	15%	14%
Pre-program wage $3.35 or below	33	44*	35
Six months or more since last job	15	16	15

*Indicates statistically significant difference from males at the .05 level.

The labor market information in Table 3 suggests that most entering corpsmembers have relatively poor pre-corps job opportunities. Among female enrollees, 15 percent had never held a job, another 44 percent had worked at their longest previous job for the minimum wage or less, and 16 percent had not worked in the previous six months. Among male enrollees, the employment rate is only slightly better.

Corpsmember reports of longest previous jobs most frequently list janitor and maintenance worker, kitchen worker, gardener and landscaper, clerical worker, health aide, sales worker, cashier, factory worker, stock handler and construction laborer. Less than 5 percent of entering enrollees report previous jobs in such skilled occupations as construction work or automobile repair.

In looking at the family backgrounds and educational and labor market characteristics of CCC enrollees, it is clear that in 1984 the CCC served large proportions of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth despite the lack of explicit targeting based on income. Thus, the CCC reached a substantial number of disadvantaged youth, yet was still able to gain the benefits of untargeted eligibility.

It is of policy interest to compare the characteristics of corpsmembers in the non-residential component of the program with those in the residential component. Table 4 presents demographic characteristics, by residential status, of corpsmembers who entered the program between November 1983 and October 1984. Table 5 presents the family background and educational characteristics of these corpsmembers, again by residential status.

Table 4

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS, BY RESIDENTIAL STATUS

	Residential	Non-Residential
Female	23%	30%*
Age 19 or under	50	48
From a metropolitan area	61	68*
Black	23	48*
Hispanic	13	18*
Married or separated	06	11*
With children	09	17*
Having children living with them	04	11*
Number in sample	2840	347

*Indicates statistically significant difference from residential enrollees at the .05 level.

Table 4 indicates large demographic differences between CCC residential and non-residential corpsmembers. Non-residential CCC sites have a higher proportion of black and Hispanic enrollees than do residential sites. The high proportion of minority corpsmembers in CCC non-residential sites is due in large part to the location of many of these sites in areas with large minority populations. Non-residential sites also have higher proportions of young women and corpsmembers who were married, are parents, and have children living with them at the time of application to the CCC.

In terms of educational attainment (Table 5), non-residential corpsmembers are more likely than their residential counterparts to have graduated from high school. But there is little difference between residential and non-residential corpsmembers in family background or economic status.

Recruitment and Selection

For residential centers, corpsmembers are recruited and selected at local offices of the California Employment Development Department (EDD). EDD offices designate special counselors as CCC recruiters. Usually, a youth counselor will be responsible for both CCC and Job Corps recruitment, as well as other tasks. Youth interested in the program talk to the EDD counselor, fill out the application form and are told to have a physical examination. Young women can generally enter the program the same month they apply.

Table 5

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS, BY RESIDENTIAL STATUS

	Residential	Non-Residential
Family ever received Foodstamps or AFDC while growing up	39	40
Lived with both parents while growing up	58	58
Foster child	02	01
Living with parents at intake	64	67
JTPA-eligible	48	51
At risk in labor market	70	66
Regular high school degree	39	50*
GED	13	09*
Neither	48	41*

*Indicates statistically significant difference from residential corpsmembers at the .05 level.

Youth hear about the CCC in a variety of ways. In most cases, applicants have heard about the CCC before they come to the EDD office. Table 6 lists responses to a question asked of entering corpsmembers about how they first heard of the CCC.

Table 6

HOW ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS HEARD ABOUT THE CCC, BY SEX

	Men	Women	Total
Friends or relatives in CCC	32%	28%	31%
State EDD office	20	19	20
Family	11	09	11
TV/Newspaper/Radio	12	17	13
Friends not in CCC	13	12	13
School	05	05	05
Other	07	10	07
Total	100%	100%	100%

Friends or relatives already in the CCC are a major source of referral for both young men and women. Schools are only a minor referral source. Television, radio and newspaper advertisements are more effective in reaching women.

At non-residential sites, youth apply directly to the CCC center. Applications are taken throughout the month and, toward the end of the month, in-person interviews are given. Usually, several CCC staff are present at each interview. Ranking criteria vary from site to site, but non-residential CCC staff indicated more interest in taking youth they think the CCC can help than youth who have everything going for them. It should be noted that most of our interviews dealing with recruitment took place before the CCC implemented the change from full non-residential centers to satellites.

EDD counselors and CCC staff from non-residential satellites draw their own profile of CCC youth. They report that young men who apply to the CCC are typical of all young men who come into EDD offices: they are not necessarily more athletic or outdoor-oriented than others; they tend to be minimally skilled and minimally educated, come from family backgrounds one step above that of Job Corps enrollees, face limited alternatives in the labor market and are excited about going into the CCC.

Most EDD counselors agree that female CCC applicants are "a cut above" other EDD clients: most young women are looking for office or food service jobs, but CCC applicants are more interested in work that is less traditionally female; they are more sure of themselves and more mature than the male applicants, and tend to be more outgoing and independent. On the other hand, they say, not all female applicants are athletic or experienced in outdoor activities such as camping and backpacking.

Table 7 presents information on why corpsmembers who entered the CCC between November 1983 and October 1984 decided to enroll. Gaining experience, learning a skill, needing a job or money, and self-improvement are their major reasons. Major differences between young men and women include: 54 percent of entering women and only 39 percent of young men report that they joined for reasons of self-fulfillment; 27 percent of female corpsmembers report an interest in the outdoors and/or conservation as their reasons for joining, as opposed to only 21 percent of male corpsmembers.

Table 7

WHY ENTERING CORPSMEMBERS
ENROLLED IN THE CCC, BY SEX
November 1983 to October 1984

	Males	Females	Total
Learn a skill/gain experience	33%	32%	32%
Need a job or money	24	19	23
Improve self	21	28	22
A challenge/adventure	07	15	09
Like the outdoors	08	15	10
Get away from home	09	09	09
Do good/preserve forests	05	06	05
Learn a conservation-related skill	05	05	05
Wanted a change	04	08	05
Fight forest fires	04	02	04
Self-discovery	02	03	02
Need place to live	01	01	01
Nothing else to do	01	01	01

Note: Numbers add up to more than 100% because some corpsmembers gave multiple responses.

Summary

While the CCC does not specifically target the economically disadvantaged, the program serves large numbers of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth. During the 12 months of data collection, 24 percent of entering corpsmembers were young women. This number fluctuates from year to year, however, and has been as high as 38 percent in 1983. The non-residential component of the CCC serves larger proportions of women and minority youth than the residential component. There are few differences between residential and non-residential corpsmembers, however, in family background or economic status. The reasons for joining the CCC that are most frequently listed by corpsmembers are wanting to learn a skill or gain experience, needing a job or money, and wanting to improve themselves.

IV. CCC WORK PROGRAM

The legislative purpose of the CCC is to conserve and develop natural resources and to enhance and maintain environmentally important lands and waters through the work of California's young men and women. The CCC legislation specifically lists the types of projects in which the program should be involved. These include fire prevention and suppression, emergency response and disaster relief, energy conservation, park development, historic preservation, salmon restoration, wildlife habitat improvement, and urban and rural reforestation.

The CCC works on between 1,800 and 2,200 projects a year. All of these projects are related, in one way or another, to the conservation of natural resources, enhancement of outdoor recreation areas, or preservation of historic sites in California. Some projects are of statewide or regional significance, others are of local interest. A number of CCC work projects each year are responses to emergencies.

Almost all of the CCC's work is done in crews. A typical CCC crew has an adult supervisor C-I, an enrollee crew leader and between 10 and 15 corpsmembers. In emergency situations, CCC crews from different centers will work together under the command of a project coordinator C-II.

In a given year, the great majority of CCC work hours are spent on projects involving unskilled or semi-skilled labor done for sponsoring agencies. The sponsoring agencies are responsible for overall project design, necessary technical supervision, and materials and supplies. The CCC is, in most senses, a source of supervised labor for federal agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service and National Park Service, and state agencies such as the Department of Fish and Game, the Department of Parks and Recreation, and the Department of Forestry. There are two exceptions to this. First, about 20 percent of corpsmember work hours each year are used by the CCC itself to support program operations. The CCC uses corpsmembers in both its program support activities and capital improvement projects. Second, the CCC has a few specialty crews in solar energy, weatherization and construction. In projects involving these specialty crews, the CCC is a source of skilled labor to work sponsors, and takes on the role and responsibilities of a private contractor.

The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows: Section A provides a description of the types of projects conducted by the CCC; Section B discusses project development and other aspects of the operation of the Corps' work component; and Section C provides an assessment of the Corps' work program.

A. CCC Work Projects

Table 8 breaks down FY 1983-84 projects into major categories. It should be stressed that, even within these categories, there is much diversity. Particularly within park development and conservation rehabilitation, the CCC conducts a wide range of projects, varying in both skill level and time required to finish the work.

Table 8

CCC WORK PROJECTS BY MAJOR CATEGORIES
FY 1983-84

	Hours	Percent
Emergencies	127,476	05%
Park development	631,055	24
Forest improvement	458,296	18
Conservation rehabilitation and construction	300,268	12
Fish and wildlife	163,604	06
Water and soil conservation	139,600	05
Fire hazard reduction	123,986	05
Energy conservation	119,959	05
CCC program support	464,515	18
CCC capital improvement	58,602	02
	2,587,361	100%

Emergency Work

The CCC work projects that engender the most pride -- and certainly the most publicity and visibility -- are responses to emergencies. The CCC legislation specifically states that fire prevention, fire suppression and disaster relief are to be a major program emphasis. Fighting fires and floods makes up most of the CCC's emergency response, but the Corps also assists in other emergencies. For example, the CCC helped fight the Medfly infestation of California crops in 1981, and is involved each year in various search and rescue operations. The CCC gives top priority to its emergency response function. The program advises work sponsors that it will drop whatever projects it is working on if called upon to respond to an emergency.

The amount of emergency work the CCC does each year varies depending on the severity of the fire and flood seasons, and the number of other emergencies that occur during the year. In 1983-84, the CCC spent 127,476 hours on emergency response, representing five percent of program work hours. During 1981, when

California was faced with the Medfly infestation and a severe fire season, the CCC logged over one million hours of emergency work. This amounted to almost 30 percent of program work hours for that year.

The CCC is one of a number of agencies available to the California Department of Forestry (CDF) and the U.S. Forest Service for providing manpower to fight forest and wildland fires. The main sources of labor used by CDF to fight wildland fires are inmates and youth offenders in 35 special fire corps centers run by CDF. These are supplemented by two CCC front line fire centers and nine other CCC centers that have trained fire crews available for emergency response. The CCC centers are used by CDF and the Forest Service, depending on the location and magnitude of the fire. In a typical year, the CCC will respond to over 70 forest and wildland fires.

Much of the CCC's emergency flood work is done in the delta area of California. Within the delta are a number of islands below sea level, protected by a series of levees. When flooding is imminent, corpsmembers assist flood reclamation districts and the state Department of Water Resources (DWR) in repairing levees that are failing and in sandbagging against the river at flood stage. The CCC also responds to flash floods in other areas of California.

The CCC is also available to assist the Coast Guard, state and local emergency response agencies. Over the last few years, the CCC has helped the Coast Guard clean up an oil spill near San Luis Obispo and has helped save birds caught in an oil spill in the San Francisco Bay. The Corps has also participated in search and rescue missions and responded to mudslides and landslides in the Bay area and in Southern California. In emergency situations, the CCC is not the prime agency in charge, but only a source of labor to assist the principal emergency reponse agency.

Park Development

Park development is a major CCC work activity, each year accounting for between an eighth and a quarter of the program's work hours. In 1983-84, the CCC worked with over 80 local and regional parks in an assortment of park development projects. Examples of local park projects included removing brush; constructing exercise stations; opening up unused, overgrown areas of parks; planting trees and landscaping. In a few local parks, the CCC was involved in major projects. For example, last year the CCC helped renovate and develop baseball fields in four local parks and helped construct two small outdoor amphitheatres. The CCC also worked last year in 18 state parks and recreation areas, assisting the park staff in general landscaping, brush removal and small-scale construction projects. Examples of such projects included constructing 78 environmental campsites in one state park, installing solar water heaters in public showers in six state parks and beaches, and constructing picnic tables, building concrete barbeque pits and putting new wood roofs on park buildings in three state parks.

A major park development activity of the CCC is trail maintenance. In 1983-84, the CCC maintained 182 miles of trails in state and local parks and 283 miles of trails in national parks and forests. The CCC's trail maintenance activities include clearing fallen trees, constructing rock causeways across meadows, installing water bars for erosion control and constructing foot bridges. While the National Park Service has its own trail crews and the U.S. Forest Service and state parks sometimes have trail crews of their own, the CCC is a major source of trail work in the state. The CCC does trail work that other agencies do not have the labor or time to do. Locations of CCC trail work last year included several state parks and national forests, as well as backcountry trails in Yosemite, Sequoia and King's Canyon National Parks. The backcountry trail work is one of the CCC's most lauded projects.

Forest Improvement

Forest improvement projects represented 18 percent of the CCC's work hours in 1983-84. Forest improvement work of the CCC mainly involves assisting the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Bureau of Land Management and the California Lands Commission in reforestation and timber-stand improvement projects. The work comes from backlogs of projects identified by these agencies, and has the multiple objectives of producing trees to sell as lumber, improving wildlife habitat, enhancing the beauty of surroundings, controlling erosion and watershed management. Last year, the CCC planted 583,000 trees on 1,500 acres of public land and assisted the land management agencies with various timber-stand improvement work, including protection of seedlings. The CCC's annual reports indicate that, since its inception in 1977, it has planted over 12 million trees in California.

Conservation, Rehabilitation and Construction

The CCC assists local government and community agencies in various small public works projects relating to conservation, recreation and historic preservation. Such projects accounted for 12 percent of corpsmember work hours in 1984. These projects varied from community to community. In a typical year, the CCC is involved in over 100 such projects, ranging from two- or three-day assignments to extended commitments. Short-term efforts last year included preparation and then cleanup of fairgrounds for three county fairs. Medium-term projects included helping develop or maintain bike trails in three communities, urban treeplanting in six localities, landscaping around elementary schools and libraries in a number of communities, clearing vacant lots in central Los Angeles, and helping set up a tree nursery for the city of Ventura. Longer-term projects included restoring and repairing two historic barns in Northern California, building a security fence around the Battery Point Lighthouse as the first stage of an eventual restoration, and building additional beach accessways in San Luis Obispo.

One construction project from previous years of which the CCC is particularly proud was providing assistance to the town of Fallsvale in building a new elementary school. The town's two-room schoolhouse had been closed because it failed to meet earthquake standards, and residents were faced with the possiblity of busing their children down a 6,000 foot mountain. Instead, the CCC and community volunteers worked to construct a new school for the small mountain town.

Wildlife Habitat Improvement

The CCC works with the California Department of Fish and Game (DFG) and the U.S. Forest Service on a number of wildlife habitat improvement projects. These projects usually account for about 5 percent of the CCC's work hours. In 1983-84, the CCC helped DFG on projects that included developing a game preserve in the East Bay area, clearing out an estuary in the Los Angeles region, building goose nesting boxes in Northern California, spring development and range fencing, fish tagging, and creating brush piles to develop an edge effect.

By far the largest wildlife habitat improvement project the CCC is working on with DFG is a major salmon restoration effort in Northern California. While DFG is the lead agency and work crews from other agencies are also involved, the CCC is an important source of labor for the project. Last year, the CCC had seven crews working fulltime clearing streams and tributaries logjammed from years of lumbering, winter storms and floods. The CCC also helps DFG staff to conduct other salmon habitat enhancement activities. This work should result in opening up additional spawning areas for salmon and steelhead trout and increasing the number of these fish in California's rivers and ocean waters.

Water and Soil Conservation

In California, winter flooding often follows severe wildland fire seasons. During the period following major wildland fires, the CCC helps cities and towns susceptible to flooding prepare for winter storms. Activities include reseeding burned areas, constructing water and mud-diversion devices, clearing drainage ditches and canals and stabilizing slopes to prevent landslides. The CCC has also worked with the State Department of Conservation and other government agencies in a windbreak planting program to limit the wind erosion of soil in selected counties. The CCC also works to stabilize stream banks and to clear debris caused by winter storms. These efforts limit further erosion and protect watershed areas. Where possible, the CCC has made an effort to use native plants and shrubs in its revegetation projects.

Water and soil conservation work typically accounts for about five percent of the CCC's work project hours. However, the CCC's emergency response to wildland fires, floods and winter storms also contributes to water and soil conservation in California.

Energy Conservation

One of the CCC's particular prides is its energy conservation work. One of the Corps' 18 centers is devoted entirely to energy conservation work. Corpsmembers at the Placer Energy Center are second-year enrollees with the rank of corpsmember specialist. When they first arrive at the energy center, corpsmembers work on labor-intensive projects such as weatherizing homes for low-income families, handling incoming calls for energy conservation hotlines and removing excess fluorescent lamps in state office buildings. More advanced corpsmembers at the energy center work on skill-intensive projects such as installing solar water heating units in state parks, inserting timing devices for heating systems in state office buildings and conducting energy audits.

Crews from the Placer Energy Center conduct projects in all parts of the state, usually working out of trailers and vans. Accomplishments in recent years include the weatherization of over 500 houses, the installation of solar water heating units in several state parks and state office buildings, and the completion of energy audits for over one million square feet of state office space. Each year, energy conservation projects account for about five percent of all CCC work.

Program Support and Capital Improvement Projects

Last year, the CCC used 18 percent of corpsmember work hours for its own program support, and another two percent for program capital improvement projects. Program support activities include facilities maintenance, tool care, cooking and kitchen help, vehicle maintenance, carpentry, horticulture and clerical work. Some of these program support reponsibilities are handled by second-year enrollees with positions as corpsmember specialists; others by regular corpsmembers who rotate from other projects onto center duty. Some centers keep one of their five crews on the grounds to conduct cleanup, maintenance and repair work.

Where possible, the CCC involves corpsmembers in program capital improvement projects. For example, corpsmembers are generally used to rehabilitiate new centers. In some instances, the CCC negotiates free rent in return for rehabilitation conducted in large part by corpsmembers. Corpsmembers were also used in constructing the El Dorado Center, the only center the CCC has built from scratch. Corpsmembers also helped in the remodeling of the CCC headquarters building in Sacramento last year.

It is a source of pride among corpsmembers to be involved in such activities. To a large extent the enrollees involved in capital improvement activities are corpsmember specialists in the Corps' carpentry crew, but regular corpsmembers also help conduct such projects.

B. Work Program Operation

In this section we discuss how the CCC operates its work program. First, we describe project development, explain criteria for project selection and discuss cost-reimbursible work projects. Second, we discuss elements of program operation that appear to be basic to quality control and productivity. Third, we briefly describe safety procedures which the CCC builds into its work program.

Project Development

Work project development in the CCC occurs both at the headquarters office in Sacramento and at individual centers. The planning staff at headquarters is responsible for developing statewide and regional projects and for coordinating the CCC's responses to emergencies. The work coordinator C-II at each center develops local projects and is responsible for carrying out statewide and emergency projects developed at headquarters. Each CCC center prepares an annual work plan that takes into account the conservation needs of the local area as well as statewide and regional projects assigned to the center.

The main guidelines for project selection are listed in the CCC's legislation itself. The legislation states that projects "shall be selected on the basis of the environmental and natural resource benefits each offers, the opportunities for public use each offers, and the on-the-job training value of each." In addition to these legislatively mandated criteria, the CCC also considers whether a project will attract community support and local resources; whether a project will provide corpsmembers with educational opportunities and a better understanding of conservation and the natural environment; and whether a project can be conducted in discrete segments that can be accomplished within a reasonable length of time.

The CCC project coordinator's handbook specifically states that the program should not compete for high skill work or for union jobs. The program does seek projects that will allow corpsmembers apprenticeship-type experiences (although these occur in only a very small proportion of CCC projects). The handbook also states that the CCC should not compete with existing programs that offer job training. Rather, the main emphasis of the program "is to protect life and property during emergency situations and to develop and conserve natural resources whose maintenance and enhancement has not been budgeted by local, state or federal agencies."

In a typical year, 45 percent of CCC off-center project hours are spent working with state agencies, 30 percent with local agencies, 20 percent with federal agencies and 5 percent with non-profit agencies. These proportions fluctuate from year to year, depending in large part on the number and types of emergencies to which the CCC responds during the year. The CCC does only a small amount of work for non-profit agencies for a number of reasons. First, the major land management and natural resource agencies in California tend to be governmental. Second, non-profit agencies do not always have the resources to provide the materials, supplies and technical supervision which must be supplied by work sponsors who wish to work with the CCC.

Centers typically have several months' worth of work backlog. This abundance of potential projects allows the CCC to be selective in the work it undertakes and, in particular, to turn down menial assignments or projects that do not fit its legislative objectives. To a great extent, the abundance of projects available to the CCC is due to the fact that during its eight years of existence it has done quality work and developed a good reputation. Past work sponsors continue to request crews and recommend the CCC to other sponsors. Until they establish their reputations, new conservation corps programs are in a less favorable position; they cannot pick and choose work sponsors as much as the more experienced CCC is able to do.

A small proportion of CCC projects each year is cost-reimbursable -- that is, the sponsoring agency pays the CCC for the work and crews it provides. While this might seem an attractive way to fund the CCC, in large part the notion of cost reimbursement runs counter to the program's emphasis on conducting conservation activities that have not otherwise been budgeted. If all of the CCC's work were cost-reimbursable, the program would not expand the amount of conservation work done in California; it would only provide a source of labor to be used by natural resources agencies for projects that have already been budgeted. (In some cases, however, the budget of another natural resource agency is augmented with the CCC specifically in mind.) Further, the CCC is concerned that an emphasis on cost-reimbursement may interfere with the ability to select projects that meet training and other needs of corpsmembers.

Cost-reimbursements typically account for between 10 and 15 percent of program operating funds. Among 20 to 30 cost-reimbursable projects during the course of a year, two or three account for the dominant share of reimbursements. Usually, the larger for the dominant share of reimbursements. Usually, the larger cost-reimbursable projects are conducted for state agencies. In recent years, the CCC has had major cost-reimbursement contracts with CalTrans for landscaping work along highways, with DFG for salmon restoration work, with DPR for state park maintenance, and with CDF for Dutch Elm Disease control.

Quality Control in the CCC's Work Program

The CCC uses a variety of mechanisms to assure the quality and productivity of its work program.

- The CCC gives its work component primacy over other aspects of the program;
- The work is conducted in crews, thus facilitating CCC supervision and control over the quality of work produced;
- The CCC provides its own work supervisors at project sites;
- Work crews are kept at a manageable size to allow for close necessary supervision;
- Strong, explicit criteria for project selection are used;
- Projects are conducted in discrete segments to ensure that youth can complete a discrete task and to guard against displacement of other workers in routine work assignments.
- Projects are lined up far in advance, and an excess of projects are developed and always ready to go. The project coordinator at each center prepares a 30-day advance work schedule for center crews. A common experience in youth conservation corps is that work crews complete projects more quickly than expected. Advance planning and excess projects allow a program to be always one step ahead of work crews -- thus avoiding downtime that can sap corps spirit and productivity. Having an excess of available projects also puts the CCC in a position to pull its work crews off projects if materials are not available, if inadequate technical supervision is provided by the sponsor, if unforeseen safety hazards develop, or if unions object to the CCC's presence.

Controls for Worksite Safety

In conducting its work program, the CCC puts great emphasis on safety. For both emergencies and other work projects, the CCC's policy is not to risk the safety and health of corpsmembers in order to save money. For example, the CCC will not use corpsmembers for noxious waste cleanup because there are safer -- albeit more expensive -- methods of cleaning toxic wastes. At the same time, however, when there is no alternative to human power in an emergency, the CCC is prepared to send corpsmembers -- no matter how great the danger. In both wildland fires and floods, CCC work is often hazardous.

At the center level, the CCC has standard operating procedures for insuring safety. A job hazard analysis is conducted for each project prior to start-up. Selected corpsmembers are certified to operate dangerous machinery such as chainsaws and trucks, and then only after extensive training. Work supervisors are trained to promote safety. Safety meetings are held at the worksite prior to start-up. Corpsmembers are required to wear full uniform and safety gear.

C. Work Program Assessment

The CCC's work program can be assessed at a variety of levels. It is important to determine whether the CCC does quality work, whether it engages in work projects that are consistent with its legislative mandate, and whether it is an efficient way of conducting the projects it undertakes. It is also worthwhile to try to evaluate the usefulness of CCC work projects -- the extent to which the CCC is conducting projects that contribute to the conservation of natural resources in California. It is also possible to assess the work of the CCC in economic terms.

Work Program Quality and Efficiency

From numerous discussions with work sponsors, a review of project data and observations of several CCC work crews, it is clear that the CCC maintains discipline at the worksite, does quality work on its projects and conducts projects which are consistent with the program's legislation. Work sponsors we interviewed were enthusiastic about using the CCC. Corpsmembers work hard, and there is little down time -- either at a project site or between projects. There is strong evidence that the CCC provides disciplined, quality work crews: sponsors continue to use the CCC -- project after project, year after year.

Evaluating economic efficiency is less straightforward. There are a number of options open to state government for funding labor-intensive conservation work. One option is to support the CCC. Another is to provide funds for other natural resource agencies to hire labor crews of their own. A third option is to provide funds for natural resource agencies to subcontract work projects to private contractors. A fourth option is to provide supplementary funds to the state Department of Corrections and the state Youth Authority to give them the capability of using inmates and youth offenders in conservation work projects.

The State of California makes use of each of these approaches. The relative efficiency of each approach varies from project to project. The CCC has a comparative advantage in projects that require supervised, disciplined and at least partly-trained work crews. Wildland fire response, emergency flood work and energy conservation are examples of such projects. The CCC shares its comparative advantage in wildland fire response with the Department of Corrections and the Youth Authority.

At first glance, it may appear that the use of private contractors or temporary labor crews would be a much cheaper way to conduct conservation work. However, if supervisory costs, training expenses, transportation, and food and shelter expenses (necessary for an emergency response capability) are taken into account, costs in the CCC appear to be well within the range of what it would take an alternative supplier to provide similarly trained and disciplined work crews. As a work program, the CCC has little excess staff: its centers operate with minimum staff, corpsmembers pay for their own room and board, the program repairs its own vehicles, existing facilities rather than new ones are used, and only 10 percent of program funds go to headquarters, primarily for state-mandated accounting and personnel functions. The program could be operated more cheaply if it had no youth development goals, but gains to youth from supplementary services must be weighed against the added costs of these services.

The issue of CCC efficiency is basically secondary to the issue of usefulness. If the CCC is engaged in projects of public benefit, the question of efficiency is of less relevance. Moreover, in a practical sense, the relative efficiency of the CCC may be a moot point. If the CCC did not exist, it is not clear that the state legislature would allocate funding to other natural resource agencies to insure continuation of the type of work done by the CCC.

Public Benefit of CCC Work Projects

The CCC has a mandate to be both a natural resource conservation program and a youth development program. When the CCC is viewed as a natural resource program, it is important to determine whether it is engaged in useful conservation projects of benefit to the state.

There are a number of criteria that could be used to evaluate the usefulness of CCC work efforts: whether CCC work projects help to save taxpayers' dollars; whether the CCC appears to be a useful resource to other conservation agencies in the state; and the extent to which CCC work projects appear to be of long-term ecological significance.

In this section, we use interviews with work sponsors, state natural resource officials and CCC staff to help assess CCC work efforts based on the criteria described above. In addition, we make use of recent ecological reports such as the Worldwatch Institute's State of the World, 1985 and the Conservation Foundation's State of the Environment: An Assessment at Mid-Decade to determine whether CCC projects appear to be consistent with conservation priorities currently being identified by ecologists. In particular, we use the State of California's Investing for Prosperity report in assessing the CCC's work efforts since that report specifically addresses the long-term conservation priorities of California.

Fire rangers in the California Department of Forestry report that the CCC's fire emergency work is useful to the state as the severity and magnitude of forest and wildland fires increases. An 80-year-old policy of suppressing forest fires rather than letting them burn has resulted in a build-up of highly combustible underbrush in wildland areas. The recent inroads civilization has made into wilderness areas have increased the potential damage from wildland fires both to property and to human life. Also, new residents in formerly sparsely populated areas tend to have little knowledge of how to react to and fight wildland fires. It is impossible to distinguish the effects of the CCC, the Department of Corrections and the Youth Authority as sources of labor to CDF and the U.S. Forest Service in protecting the state from forest and wildland fires, but their combined emergency response capability is a useful resource -- particularly in the eventuality of a severe outbreak of wildland fires (as occurred in the summer of 1985).

Work sponsors of CCC delta flood emergency work also reported to us that the CCC is an important resource for them. Within the delta area of California are a number of islands below sea level and protected by a series of levees. These islands are primarily agricultural, although there are a few marinas and recreation lodges. The islands also represent a public investment in electrical power lines, gas lines and state roads.

When a delta island is lost in a flood, the costs to reclaim it can run over $6 million. Individually, a delta island may not be worth that much. However, the levees on each delta island contribute, to one extent or another, to the overall defense of delta islands. Collectively, the system of levees is important to protecting the water supply of the Sacramento Valley from salt water intrusion. The levee system in the delta area is also important to the recreation industry and to protecting the ecological balance which has developed there over the past 100 years.

Two sources reported to us that they felt the CCC was instrumental in saving at least one delta island from flooding during the past two years. Given the expense of reclaiming an island once it has flooded, the CCC has an important role in the delta area -- at least until a major public works effort is conducted to better protect delta islands against flooding.

Reforestation and salmon restoration are two CCC projects that will have lasting impact on the ecology of California. Reforestation provides a number of ecological benefits, including soil conservation, watershed development and wildlife habitat improvement. Ecologists are increasingly stressing the importance of reforestation to an area's environment. The Worldwatch Institute's recent *State of the World 1985*, for example, puts a great deal of emphasis on the need for reforestation. The salmon restoration project, in which the CCC provides labor to DFG for clearing logjammed streams and tributaries formerly used by salmon for spawning, also will have ecological effects. Both reforestation and salmon restoration are emphasized as conservation priorities in California's *Investing for Prosperity* report. Reforestation and salmon restoration are suited to conservation corps programs -- they are labor-intensive, require work in crews, and have ecological significance.

The energy conservation and solar energy work of the CCC similarly represent a response to long-term conservation needs. From its Placer Energy Center, the CCC sends trained work crews all over the state to weatherize houses of low-income families, to perform energy audits of state buildings, and to install solar water heating units in state parks. The work translates directly into energy savings for the state and for low-income families.

The CCC's park development, erosion control and wildlife habitat improvement projects also fit in with the conservation goals of the State of California identified in the *Investing in Prosperity* report. However, within these categories -- as within the catch-all conservation rehabilitation and construction category -- the CCC carries on diverse projects that vary in the extent of which they contribute to conservation in the state.

If the CCC wishes to expand its contribution to conservation in California, it could attempt to develop additional large-scale, focused projects on the order of its reforestation, salmon restoration and energy conservation efforts. Such projects would need to be developed through cooperative efforts among ecologists inside and outside the Corps.

CCC staff and work sponsors indicate that there is plenty of useful work for the CCC to do in California for years to come. DFG staff note that once the Corps completes its stream clearance work in Northern California, there is a variety of more sophisticated stream enhancement work to be done, including stream bank stabilization, development of riparian habitat and watershed improvements. Discussions with local park officials in California indicate that there is still much work to be done to keep up with expanding demands for recreation facilities in the state. The *Investing in Prosperity* report outlines a tremendous amount of natural resource work to be done in California, including forestry, fish and wildlife, and water resource projects.

Economic Analysis of the CCC

There have been various attempts to estimate the dollar value of CCC work. Most of it is done on public lands and waters which do not charge user fees. If fees were charged, there would be a market transaction that could serve as a proxy for work value. In the absence of such a transaction, it is inherently difficult to evaluate CCC projects in dollar terms. In this regard, the CCC is no different from other public agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Park Service, and state natural resource agencies that produce public, rather than private, goods and services.

Table 9 summarizes the results of the efforts that have been made at estimating the work value of the CCC. (For a more extensive discussion of the results presented here, see the California Conservation Corps: Assessing the Dollar Value of Its Work, P/PV, 1985.)

The table relates the value of the CCC's work to program costs by means of benefit/cost ratios. In these ratios, the only benefit considered is the dollar value of the work. Other potential program benefits -- increased earnings to participants during or post-program, increased tax revenues, decreased transfer payments, etc. -- are not considered. Similarly, program costs are included generally at face value. Youth opportunity costs are not calculated. These additional benefits and costs would need to be considered in a more formal benefit/cost analysis. The value of the CCC's work is presented as a benefit/cost ratio simply as a means for controlling differences in program size over different years.

The first work value study of the CCC was completed by Public Interest Economics-West (PIE-West) in 1980. The second study done in this area was an internal CCC report completed in 1983. Both of these studies relied largely on an alternative cost methodology, although they also included attempts to estimate the value of the CCC's reforestation work through the market price of lumber and the value of salmon restoration based on the value of extra salmon. As is indicated in Table 9, PIE-West concluded that the value of the CCC's work equals the costs of the program. The CCC report found benefits in excess of costs.

The "alternative supplier price" and "sponsor's estimate of value" presented in the table come from tabulations of responses on a CCC work projects completion form that was in use during parts of 1983 and 1984. Work sponsors were asked to estimate the alternative supplier price for each CCC project, and were also asked to estimate the economic value of the project. As is clear in Table 9, the work sponsor estimate of economic value yields a benefit/cost ratio from .96 to 3.3, while the alternative supplier price yields a benefit/cost ratio of two-thirds. It should be noted, though, that responses to both of these questions

Table 9

ESTIMATED BENEFIT/COST RATIOS

	PIE-West	CCC Study	Work Sponsors' Estimate of Alternative Supplier Price	Work Sponsors' Estimate of Benefits to Society	Willingness-to-Pay Survey
1. Park Development	2.13	1.02	.66	.51	4.
2. Forest Improvement	1.74	1.20	.77	.84	4.
3. Rehabilitation and Construction	.76	.71	.55	.60	6.
4. Wildlife Habitat Improvement/Water and Soil Conservation	.76	1.16	.49	.61	15.
5. Emergencies					
a. Emergency Responses			.48	.20	5.
b. Fire Hazard Reduction	.76	2.37	.57	.45	6.
6. Energy Conservation	.76	2.21	.43	1.81	2.
7. Salmon Restoration	.17	1.16	.32	.58	20.
Overall	1.00	1.39	0.60	0.96-3.30	7.00

varied widely. Responses to the alternative supplier price question ranged from less than one one-hundreth of the cost of the project to eight times the cost of the project. Responses to the economic value question ranged from one-eighteenth to 35 times the cost of the project.

The "willingness-to-pay" survey listed in Table 9 refers to a study by P/PV that used the principles and techniques of environmental economics. The study represented an attempt to estimate the willingness of California residents to support CCC activities. Two hundred hikers and backpackers and 150 salmon sport fishermen in California were surveyed. The work program of the CCC was described -- much as it has been described in this chapter -- and respondents were asked if they would vote yes or no in a referendum to either terminate various CCC work activities or to approve a tax increase to pay for them.

The results of the survey are startling. The responses to the questionnaire -- expanded to the overall population of hikers and backpackers in the state (about 20 percent of the population) -- suggest that this sub-group of California residents alone value the CCC's work at several times its present cost to all taxpayers. While the results of the study should be interpreted only broadly, the study indicates substantial public support for the conservation work conducted by the CCC and willingness to pay to continue the program's work.

In summary, the five estimates in Table 9 vary tremendously. All produce different estimates of the benefit/cost ratio of the CCC's work program. No type of work is ranked high or low consistently. Studies using similar approaches do not yield similar results. Furthermore, all have considerable conceptual or methodological imperfections, detailed in P/PV's work value report, that limit their usefulness. Readers are urged to consult that report in order to understand these findings.

Nonetheless, a review of the five studies suggests that the CCC produces work of considerable value to the state.

Summary

Each year, the CCC conducts between 1,800 and 2,200 work projects relating to conservation. In general, the CCC is seen as a source of disciplined, supervised work crews for state agencies such as the departments of Forestry, Parks and Recreation, and Fish and Game, and federal agencies such as the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service. The CCC maintains quality control of its work program through the use of adult crew supervisors, extensive project development efforts at both the headquarters and center levels, and the priority that is given to the accomplishment of work. Based on interviews with work sponsors and officials of natural resource agencies in California -- and the numerous methods of valuing work done by the CCC, -- it is obvious that the CCC is doing work of considerable value to the state of California.

V. CORPSMEMBER DEVELOPMENT

The CCC legislation declares the program's intent to benefit both California's environment and its youth. During the early years of the program, the emphasis was on the work objective -- to produce a volume of high quality conservation work for the state. Youth development was incidental. As the program matured (and particularly with the shift from B.T. Collins to Jack Dugan), youth development became more and more a deliberately planned focus.

For the most part, youth development in the CCC occurs as a consequence of the work program itself. Through conservation work, corpsmembers learn the work ethic, an appreciation for natural resources and some basic occupational skills. However, the CCC also attempts to make youth development an integral feature of all aspects of program design. The untargeted and residential aspects of the program are designed to allow corpsmembers of varied backgrounds to learn to live and work together. The training academy, while important to prepare youth for emergency work projects, is also seen as a mechanism for overall youth development. Evening education programs, weekend recreation activities and projects aimed at encouraging citizenship -- all directed at the youth development goal -- have been part of the CCC from the very start.

As with project development, the responsibility for corpsmember development is shared by headquarters and individual center staffs. A headquarters unit is responsible for coordinating corpsmember development. It helps set standards and guidelines for corpsmember development activities, promotes innovative educational programs and provides technical assistance to centers for their education and recreation programs. In addition, each center has its own coordinator in charge of developing education and recreation activities within standards set for the overall program. In fact, the implementation of the CCC's corpsmember development component varies considerably from center to center.

Until the recent reorganization, the corpsmember development coordinator at each center was a C-II, and had equal rank with the center's work program coordinator. This C-II was, in turn, assisted by a C-I who handled the evening education program. Most centers no longer have the C-II corpsmember development coordinator position; this responsibility is now handled by the C-I.

The CCC is now beginning to view youth development in terms of basic competencies. It has defined the following six areas as encompassing its corpsmember development program: instilling the work ethic, providing basic education, offering job-specific skill development, teaching pre-employment skills, instilling conservation awareness and encouraging personal development. Competency standards, benchmarks and assessment strategies will be set up for each of these six areas. This move to a competency-based system reflects, in part, a desire on the CCC's part to add more structure to its youth development program and, in part, a desire to better integrate its work project and corpsmember development components.

In this chapter, we describe the CCC's corpsmember development activities in each of the six areas. We also present an assessment of the overall CCC corpsmember development effort.

Instilling the Work Ethic

The CCC places great emphasis on making sure that corpsmembers consistently put in a day's worth of quality work. Corpsmembers are required to be on time each morning for work or lose an entire day's work and an entire day's pay. They are assigned limited amounts of time for lunch and breaks. Each crew has an adult work supervisor. Discipline at the work site is strictly enforced. Insubordination at work is grounds for dismissal. The work that the CCC does is generally outdoors and often physically demanding. Corpsmembers return to the center in the afternoon usually tired out from a hard day's work; after fire or flood duty, they return exhausted.

In its project development efforts, the CCC attempts (not always successfully) to insure that corpsmembers are involved in work that is of ecological value; work coordinators and crew supervisors are responsible for explaining the ecological purpose of each project. The CCC also makes efforts to guarantee that there is little downtime. By working hard each day and by participating in meaningful and valuable public projects, corpsmembers are taught positive work habits and learn to have enthusiasm and appreciation for the worth of their work.

Basic Education

Close to 50 percent of entering corpsmembers have neither a regular high school degree nor a GED. Therefore, the CCC is concerned about remedial education needs. Corpsmembers who do not have a high school degree are ordinarily required to attend GED classes at least once a week. At most centers, corpsmembers whose reading is below the 6th grade level are required to attend remediation classes, regardless of whether or not they have a high school degree. Corpsmembers with limited English-speaking ability are generally required to attend English as a Second Language classes.

The CCC has moved back and forth during its eight years of existence between providing educational classes for corpsmembers on site using their own staff and relying on outside providers. Using existing basic education classes in the evening at local schools has not always been successful for a variety of reasons. Transportation to and from such classes lengthens the official day and cuts into the limited evening hours available to corpsmembers, who have to be up at 6 AM for physical training. CCC responses to fire and flood emergencies, as well as work projects involving spikes (brief one or two week stints away from the base center), often keep corpsmembers from being regularly available for scheduled evening classes in local high schools. The rolling admissions policy of the CCC, which brings in new corpsmembers every month, also does not match well with classes tied to a semester or term system. Finally, the CCC has had concerns about attendance and level of effort expended by corpsmembers who attend classes away from their centers.

At the same time, there were problems in developing effective educational classes at the CCC centers. Because the CCC serves such a heterogenous group of youth, developing an internal educational program that fits the needs of all corpsmembers would probably require a staff of two to three teachers per center. The CCC has not had the funds available for such staffing. The investment that would be required to develop a first-class remediation effort for corpsmembers without high school degrees -- in terms of both staffing and materials -- is somewhat large relative to the number of corpsmembers who would benefit.

Recently, the CCC began a major new cooperative effort with local community colleges. The key to this link is legislation passed in 1984 which includes provision of funds to pay for tuition, books and counseling of CCC corpsmembers at community colleges. The aim of this cooperative effort is to provide classes that match the educational needs of corpsmembers and can fit around the times they are away on emergencies and spikes. This community college link may solve many problems of both the off-center and on-center education approaches, but it is still too early to tell if this is the case.

Jobs-Specific Skills

The CCC is not a job training program; it is rather an intensive, well-structured work experience program. Nevertheless, some basic occupational skill development occurs naturally in the course of conducting work projects. For a small proportion of corpsmembers, the CCC does provide marketable occupational skills.

In the course of CCC work projects, corpsmembers learn how to use basic hand tools, how to work as a team and take supervision, and some rudimentary construction and forestry skills. Five or six months in the CCC provides any corpsmember with a background for becoming a construction or landscaping laborer, carpenter's helper, forest fireman or outdoor laborer.

The CCC provides more specific occupational skill training for a small number of interested corpsmembers. The Placer Energy Center trains corpsmembers in home weatherization, solar water heating installation, energy auditing and other energy conservation skills. The Placer Center also has an automotive mechanics unit in which a handful of corpsmembers receive on-the-job training repairing CCC vehicles. In the Helitak program, corpsmembers receive training in emergency helicopter fire response. The CCC corpsmember "specialist" program also allows selected participants to stay in the program a second year, receiving on-the-job training while serving as cooks or in other skill positions. The CCC also provides carpentry training for a crew with responsibilities for maintaining CCC facilities. The CCC just now is beginning to think in terms of special internship positions for corpsmembers in other state agencies. Once corpsmembers complete a limited number of months of service in the CCC, they would become eligible for these internships -- which it is hoped might lead to extra training and possible career placement. Internships would be for a number of occupations, ranging from automotive mechanics to forestry to clerical positions.

Developing Pre-Employment Skills

The CCC has developed a 12-hour career development class that is required of corpsmembers with five months in the program. It includes segments describing various occupations and the educational requirements associated with them. It includes some pre-employment training in such tasks as reading classified advertisements and being interviewed. Corpsmembers can also receive personal counseling from CCC staff on their occupational or educational plans.

The CCC also makes efforts at job placement for corpsmembers. The headquarters office sends out weekly job announcements listing openings available in state government, as well as private sector job advertisements they have received. Centers, meanwhile, have the responsibility of contacting local public and private sector employers and community organizations to develop jobs for corpsmembers in fields relating to conservation.

Instilling Conservation Awareness

The CCC has designed its own environmental education curriculum. Environmental awareness classes are taught usually one night a week during evening education hours. These classes are complemented by speakers from natural resource agencies, often those that serve as work sponsors for CCC projects.

For the most part, however, the CCC develops conservation awareness in corpsmembers through work projects. Corpsmembers usually work outdoors, often in wilderness areas. For some corpsmembers, CCC spikes are the first time they have ever camped out or been in the wilderness.

In conducting work projects, work supervisors and project sponsors are responsible for blending environmental education with daily projects at the worksite. Some project sponsors take this responsibility particularly seriously. Some park rangers and Department of Fish and Game ecologists give corpsmembers detailed lectures on ecology and on the environmental rationale for particular work projects. Such formal lectures, though, are the exception rather than the rule.

Personal Development

The CCC stresses personal development in several ways. Corpsmembers are required to report to physical training each morning and are given monthly physical fitness tests. All corpsmembers are required to keep a journal, which is reviewed and responded to regularly by work supervisors. The journal requirement is aimed at increasing language fluency, but also at encouraging self-reflection.

The CCC also makes efforts to develop good citizenship and community involvement among corpsmembers. Most centers require corpsmembers to register to vote; some involve corpsmembers in community voter registration efforts. Centers periodically schedule blood donation drives. In 1984, corpsmembers in most centers gave up their Christmas dinners and sent the savings to food relief efforts in Ethiopia. Centers also get involved in local parades and fairs, and in Arbor Day celebrations in which corpsmembers assist the general public in tree planting campaigns. Most centers also hold general community meetings for corpsmembers once a week. Such meetings allow corpsmembers to participate in, and get used to, community decision-making.

The CCC also provides corpsmembers with a variety of basic life skills during their stay. At the academy, entering enrollees learn first aid and water safety. At many centers, corpsmembers learn CPR. At some centers, they also get a chance to attend workshops and classes on personal money management, filling out tax forms, and savings and insurance options they need to be aware of as adults. While over 90 percent of entering corpsmembers already have driving licenses, some centers provide corpsmembers without licenses an opportunity to learn to drive.

Assessment of CCC Corpsmember Development

The CCC's strong suit in youth development lies in instilling the work ethic and providing corpsmembers with the self-confidence that comes from surmounting difficult tasks and being part of a successful organization. The CCC does make corpsmembers work hard, and from observing and interviewing them it is obvious that the youth feel competent about their ability to perform on the job, and take great pride in their work and in being part of the CCC.

The CCC also consciously works to bring together youth from varied backgrounds and to instill in youth an appreciation for natural resources. We do not have the objective data to measure effects of either of these efforts, but it seems corpsmembers of different family backgrounds do get along and that a community spirit does develop.

The CCC appears to provide strong occupational training to a small number of corpsmembers: second-year corpsmembers at the Placer Energy Center who receive training in energy work, the construction specialty crew, and corpsmembers in the area Helitak program. However, corpsmembers in these specialty crews represent a small minority of corpsmembers.

If the CCC wishes to expand the number of corpsmembers who receive occupational training, there are a number of options available. One would be to develop the state agency internship program described above for corpsmembers who have successfully completed their term in the Corps and are ready to move on. A second option would be to expand the number of complex work projects the CCC takes on, and thus increase the number of skills learned on the job. A third option would be to add a second energy/solar center which could train corpsmembers while conducting energy conservation work in the southern region of the state.

In the past, CCC has been less clearly effective in its attempts at remedial education and in promoting the educational development of corpsmembers. There have been some notable successes, however. The GED classes developed at the Central Los Angeles non-residential center, the literacy spikes held in cooperation with the University of Southern California, and the introduction of journal writing for corpsmembers, all represent effective responses to the basic educational needs of corpsmembers. Overall, however, remediation programs in the CCC have varied greatly with many centers having only limited success with such efforts. Further, the CCC has not always sufficiently challenged those corpsmembers having high school degrees. Such corpsmembers have been encouraged to continue their education, but centers have not usually provided them with either the necessary incentive or the structured program to follow up on such encouragement. Corpsmembers with high school diplomas have also reported to us being bored at times with the evening educational program offered at CCC centers.

The new cooperative effort between the CCC and local community colleges holds much promise for improving the CCC's educational component. The expertise of community college instructors in basic education, the curriculum materials and other resources available at community colleges, and the notion of tailoring classes around the work demands of the CCC, all should translate to a much more successful remediation program. Moreover, the community college link should make for a more challenging educational program for corpsmembers with high school degrees.

A variety of complicating factors explains the difficulty the CCC has had in developing a workable education program. First, the work component, by design, receives primacy over all other as pects of the CCC program. Emergencies, spikes and responses to often physically exhausting work projects preclude intensive or strictly scheduled offerings. Second, the CCC has had only limited amounts of funds available for corpsmember development staff at centers. The CCC has only one staff person at each center assigned specifically to corpsmember development, and it has not had enough money to go outside the Corps to hire additional fulltime teachers or counselors. The recent legislation allocating $500,000 in funds to pay for corpsmember tuition and the cost of other educational activities at community colleges represents a step towards providing the CCC with some additional and needed resources.

Third, the diversity of youth served by the CCC makes it difficult to develop educational offerings that fit the needs of all corpsmembers or evening program presentations that interest everyone. Finally, the CCC faces the dilemma that corpsmembers who most need educational services are precisely those who are most turned off by formal educational classes. The CCC walks a thin line between requiring these corpsmembers to take remedial education classes and yet not alienating them to the extent that they leave the program. All of these problems are exacerbated at non-residential sites since non-residential corpsmembers have even tighter time constraints and more often family responsibilities as well.

The CCC could do more in the area of pre-employment training and job development. Performance in this area varies widely across centers. The CCC has not done particularly well in the area of making a successful link to the private sector. Further, since these pre-employment classes are for those who have stayed five months or more, many who leave the program early receive no such services.

Recommendations

There are a few additional changes the CCC might consider to improve its corpsmember development component. First, even if the community colleges link proves as successful as its potential might suggest, there is still a need for a strong staff person at each center to coordinate corpsmembers' development activities. Such a person can make all the difference to a center's evening program, serving to tie together all education and recreation activities at the center and give them focus.

Since most centers have assigned C-Is to the education position, there is lack of consistency in the quality of the CCC's corpsmember development staff, and it is almost completely a matter of chance as to whether a center will have someone in that position with any expertise or enthusiasm for the job. The CCC should consider ways to strengthen the corpsmember development position at centers -- either by reverting to having a C-II in charge of education and recreation at each center or by choosing one C-I with a background in youth development as the permanent education supervisor.

An issue related to the success of the CCC's evening program is the level at which presentations should be pitched. In many cases, staff and outside speakers have resolved the problem of addressing youth with diverse educational backgrounds by aiming their presentations at the least prepared. As a result, the majority of corpsmembers feel talked down to and bored. Corpsmembers have told us that they much prefer presentations aimed at a high level, with occasional asides to explain concepts and words that may be unfamiliar.

The environmental awareness program of the CCC, in particular, appears to be pitched at much too low a level. These materials could be more challenging. The environmental education curriculum could, in fact, be designed to be one of the more rigorous aspects of the CCC. Intensive environmental awareness classes could be required for all corpsmembers and, for interested corpsmembers, the equivalent of college level courses in ecology could be offered.

A final corpsmember development consideration relates to the mix of youth in the CCC. The CCC has always taken great pride in serving youth from a wide variety of backgrounds. The Corps' "each one, teach one" philosophy is based on the premise that youth from diverse backgrounds have much to learn from each other. CCC staff have indicated that in recent years the number of college youth who enter the CCC has declined. Participant data indicates that currently less than 2 percent of entering corpsmembers have attended four-year colleges.

A slight increase in the proportion of college youth could have a positive impact on the enthusiasm and aspirations of other youth in the program. The CCC could consider contacting colleges and universities to request approval of a spring and summer in the CCC as deserving of some amount of credit. At forestry and natural resource colleges such as Humboldt State college, the CCC could emphasize the opportunity for work/study directly related to a youth's field of study. At universities such as UCLA and USC, the CCC could emphasize the notion of service and living and working with youth from a variety of backgrounds. Stanford University may be particularly open to this since its president is an advocate of national youth service.

Summary

The CCC is most successful in youth development efforts in teaching corpsmembers the work ethic and in providing them with the self-confidence that comes from surmounting difficult tasks. The CCC has been less effective in its attempts at providing formal educational services for corpsmembers, and there has been much variation in the quality of evening educational offerings from center to center. This difficulty in providing educational services to corpsmembers is not unique to the CCC. Every youth conservation corps we have looked at has had problems in this area, in large part because a large proportion of the youth who enroll do so precisely because of a disinterest or lack of success in regular schooling. The CCC recognizes the problems it has had in its educational program, and the new link with community colleges represents a large step towards alleviating these problems. Further, the CCC could build a stronger pre-employment and job development component.

VI. LIFE IN THE CCC

This chapter describes life in the CCC, presented in sequential order -- from entry into the CCC at the training academy through assignment to centers through possible promotion to crewleader or specialist. Issues relating to corpsmember discipline and attrition are discussed and, where relevant, differences between the experiences of residential and non-residential corpsmembers are described.

All new corpsmembers first report to the training academy in Calaveras County. A new class of 200 to 300 enters at the beginning of each month.

During the three weeks of training, new corpsmembers are issued uniforms, boots and equipment (the costs of which are deducted from their paychecks), and are fingerprinted to screen for previous violent offenders. They live in barracks-style dormitories, get up at 5:30 AM for physical training, and are required to conform to rigid disciplinary codes.

Their eight-hour training day includes instruction in safe tool use, first aid, water safety, fire fighting and flood control. During the evening sessions, corpsmembers learn about CCC rules, center life, special programs such as the backcountry crews, and the educational and evening programs held at each center.

Attrition is very high at the academy -- roughly 20 percent of enrollees are either fired for disciplinary reasons or leave on their own during the three-week basic training period. Determining the appropriate level of strictness is a complex issue. On the one hand, expectations for entering corpsmembers should be set quickly so they understand the CCC's demands and regulations. Because the CCC must maintain discipline at residential centers and worksites -- and particularly on emergency operations -- problem corpsmembers must be dropped early and all corpsmembers must be made aware that only determination will help them get through rough situations later in the Corps. On the other hand, it serves no purpose to make basic training so difficult as to weed out recruits who could be successful corpsmembers.

Center Life

After completing basic training, non-residential corpsmembers report to the satellite in their home areas and residential corpsmembers report to their assigned center. Until recently, corpsmembers were assigned randomly to residential centers, although occasionally an effort was made to meet special interests. Female corpsmembers who joined together, however, were allowed to request assignment to the same center. This was an attempt to make it easier for women to be assimilated into the mostly male corps. Since 1984, however, the CCC has begun giving all corpsmembers more of a choice.

The eighteen residential centers in the CCC vary greatly. They range from Del Norte and Siskyou near the Oregon border to Escondido, 40 miles from the Mexican border. Some are located in rural areas high on mountain tops in old military or fire station bases. Others are in urban areas in buildings no longer used by state mental hospitals. At some centers, corpsmembers have barracks-style dormitories. At others, corpsmembers share two-person cottages. While all centers share the same code of discipline, center directors differ in their styles of management so each center reflects the personalities of the director and other key staff.

When new enrollees come to a center from the training academy, they spend the first week in orientation meetings and work on the center grounds. Starting with the second week, they are integrated into regular work crews and start working "off center." In a typical month, a center of 72 corpsmembers will receive about 10 new enrollees from the academy.

At residential centers, corpsmembers rise at 5:30 or 6 AM each weekday for physical training. They return to their cottages and dormitories for house cleaning and then go to the dining hall for breakfast and to pack themselves lunches. At 7:30, they report to their work crew's van for work. Vans leave the centers at about 7:45. Corpsmembers generally stay indefinitely in the same crew with the same work crew supervisor, although work assignments are rotated among crews so that corpsmembers get a chance to work on a variety of projects.

At the worksite, corpsmembers work all day with the exception of brief morning and afternoon breaks and a half hour for lunch. Vans usually return to the center by 4 PM. Back at the center, corpsmembers have responsibilities for putting equipment away and cleaning the vans. They then check their mail and have some time to themselves. During this time they can also try to meet with work coordinators if they need to schedule vacation days or a doctor's appointment, or to discuss disciplinary or worksite problems.

The dining hall is usually open between 5:30 and 6:30 PM for dinner. At 6:30, evening educational classes or community meetings are scheduled. Depending on the type of class, organized activity concludes any time between 7:30 and 10 PM.

The proportion of corpsmembers who stay at a center on a given weekend will vary depending upon the time of the month. The first weekend after payday almost all corpsmembers leave the center. By the end of the month, most remain for the weekend and recreation activities. These may include sports activities, field trips or picnics. Both center staff and corpsmembers are responsible for designing weekend recreation events. Still, some corpsmembers reported being bored on weekends. They are allowed to go off-center to visit local towns on weekend nights but are not permitted to bring alcoholic beverages to the center and are responsible for any trouble they may get into in town.

In addition to the early morning PT, the rigors of work and the inconveniences of dormitory living, another demanding aspect of CCC life is the strict disciplinary code. Possession of alcohol, drugs or weapons; refusal to work; fighting; violence; theft; and absence without leave are all grounds for dismissal from the Corps. In addition, failure to show up for PT in the morning or education programs in the evening, or failure to be cooperative at the worksite all leave a corpsmember open to disciplinary action. There is a clear hierarchical chain of command in the CCC's somewhat military structure; corpsmembers and staff all wear uniforms and hat color distinguishes positions of authority.

There are a number of disciplinary options available to staff. These include counseling, warnings, contract, suspensions and dismissal. A contract, in this context, refers to a written agreement that if the corpsmember gets in trouble once more within a specified period of time, he or she will be suspended or dismissed from the program. For serious offenses, the CCC retains the right to dismiss a corpsmember without warnings or suspensions. The decision to dismiss a corpsmember is made by the area manager or center administrator.

When a corpsmember is suspended or separated, a grievance process is available. In addition, a dismissed corpsmember may be permitted to apply to headquarters for readmission through the CCC second chance program. The process is one in which the burden is on the corpsmember, who must present his/her case convincingly. This is a good learning experience, and the process is tough enough to discourage all but those who are serious. Headquarters staff then consults with the corpsmember's past area manager on the advisibility of reinstatement. If approved, the corpsmember then must take his or her turn on a waiting list with first-time CCC applicants. Second-chance corpsmembers are usually assigned to centers other than the ones from which they were dismissed.

In 1984, 16.5 percent of enrollees stayed in the program for over one year by becoming either crewleaders or corpsmember specialists. Crew leaders are experienced corpsmembers who act as assistant foremen at the worksite. Crew leaders have authority over regular corpsmembers and are clearly distinguished by their red hats. The training program for crew leaders includes leadership training at their centers, service as acting crew leaders and three weeks of further training at the academy.

Corpsmember specialist positions include assistant cook, tool room manager, vehicle maintenance, facility maintenance and tree nursery operations. For each of these specialist positions, corpsmembers receive training either at the academy or at designated centers. In the past, corpsmembers have had to be in the corps for six months before applying to become crew leaders and four months before applying to become corpsmember specialists.

Besides the crew leader and specialist positions, the CCC offers selected corpsmembers a variety of other special opportunities. Corpsmembers admitted to the backcountry crews work in wilderness areas of Yosemite, Sequoia and King's Canyon National Parks, and have their supplies shuttled in by helicopter. The Helitak program enables selected CCC enrollees to be trained by the California Department of Forestry in helicopter forest and wildland fire response. Exchange programs with Katimavik in Canada and Community Volunteer Services in England give selected CCC enrollees a chance to work in foreign countries for three months. Corpsmembers assigned to the special energy center are trained in a variety of energy-related occupational skills.

The CCC places on non-residential corpsmembers the same demands it places on residential corpsmembers, and likewise offers them the same opportunities. Non-residential enrollees attend the training academy, follow the same rules and disciplinary policies at worksites and are required to attend early morning PT. Non-residential corpsmembers have community meetings and participate in center activities. They are eligible for crewleader and specialist positions, for special assignments such as the backcountry crew, and for transfers -- if they wish -- to residential centers.

The major difference, of course, is that non-residential enrollees do not live a 24-hour CCC life. This increases some pressures and decreases others. On the one hand, non-residential corpsmembers are not together continuously and do not have to cope with the dormitory and live-in aspects of the program. On the other hand, non-residential corpsmembers are without some of the program support and must get themselves to work by 6:30 every morning.

It can be argued that life is more difficult for the non-residential corpsmember because of the added burden of commuting, sometimes as much as one hour, to and from work. Non-residential corpsmembers with such commutes often have little time for themselves and their families at home. It may well require more motivation for them to remain in the CCC than for their residential counterparts.

Attrition and Discipline Issues

A full description and analysis of attrition in the CCC will be completed by P/PV in the Spring of 1986. Meanwhile, we report data given to us by the CCC.

Corpsmembers sign up for a year's tour of duty and can stay as long as two years if they are promoted to a crew leader or specialist position. The average length of stay in the program in 1984 was 5.6 months, down from an average length of stay of 7.2 months in 1983. Excluding that portion of time beyond 12 months for the corpsmembers who have been in the CCC for over one year, the average length of stay in 1984 was 4.6 months. Thirty-eight percent of entering corpsmembers stayed as long as six months in 1984, and 22 percent stayed as long as one year. While attrition varies from year to year, the program and staff report that roughly a third of entering corpsmembers eventually get fired, a third quit the program, and a third either complete their full tour of duty or leave the program either to take a job or to enter school.

The CCC's attrition rates are comparable to those of the Job Corps and YACC. Average length of stay is about five months in the Job Corps, and was about four months in YACC. Still, on intake forms, 95 percent of entering corpsmembers reported that they planned to stay in the CCC for a full year or as long as they could. Even taking into account the optimism of youth, there appears to be a huge gap between the expectations of entering enrollees and how things work out for most of them in the CCC.

Some CCC enrollees who leave the program early do so to take other jobs or to continue their education. Many enrollees, however, leave the program for negative reasons. In 1984, 39 percent of corpsmembers who left the program from the field (rather than from the academy) did so because they were fired. Another 36 percent of those who left the program quit without another job or educational plan. Because firings make up such a large proportion of CCC terminations, it is clear that corpsmember attrition and discipline are two issues that are very much intertwined.

Deciding how strict the disciplinary standards should be is a difficult choice. On the one hand, standards must be strict and production (and order) must be maintained at the worksite. It is through such standards that good work habits are taught and productive work is achieved. On the other hand, there is a concern among some staff that some youth who ultimately would have benefited from the program get fired early for disciplinary reasons.

No staff person in study interviews advocated relaxing the CCC's disciplinary code or turning the Corps into a "social service" rather than a work program. However, some staff felt that many potential discipline problems could be averted if more staff were available to work with youth who appeared to be troubled and if the staff were able to put in the time and effort to deal with a youth's underlying problems.

About 20 percent of entering corpsmembers leave before finishing their three weeks at the academy. Since the CCC does not prescreen applicants for its residential program and new corpsmembers are often making their first independent foray from home, some degree of attrition at the academy is probably inevitable.

However, additional efforts to reduce attrition could be made. For example: EDD counselors might be informed every month about the status of their referrals -- those who made it and those who did not make it through the academy. This might make EDD counselors more knowledgeable and wiser in their next referrals, increasing the likelihood that referrals would be more fully prepared for the CCC experience. It should be noted that some EDD staff see their CCC referrals off at the bus station each month, letting them know that someone back home has a stake in their success.

In summary, youth who enter the CCC must go through a difficult three-week training period, and must observe a strict disciplinary code. According to staff, roughly a third of corpsmembers will quit the program, a third will get fired, and a third will either complete their one-year tour of duty or leave the program for a job or school. In 1984, corpsmembers stayed in the CCC for an average of 5.6 months. This is comparable to the average length of stay in the Job Corps and the federal YACC program. The CCC places the same demands on non-residential corpsmembers as on residential corpsmembers, and offers the same opportunities. Because non-residential corpsmembers have the added burden of commuting and home responsibilities, the CCC experience may be more difficult for them than for residential corpsmembers.

VII. COSTS IN THE CCC

This chapter discusses the cost structure of the CCC. We break its budget into component parts, discuss cost per slot, compare the costs of residential and non-residential sites, and describe sources of revenue. Finally, we discuss issues relating to CCC costs.

Before an extensive review of costs, it is important and necessary to put the discussion in the appropriate context. Costs ought not be considered without discussing the benefits accrued from such expenditures. Benefits from CCC work are of two major types.

First are benefits to the state and its citizens from the value of work done by the CCC (see The California Conservation Corps: Assessing the Dollar Value of its Work, P/PV, 1985). This report indicates that, unlike programs that do not place a major emphasis on production, the CCC does produce millions of dollars worth of valuable work.

Second are the benefits to youth (through increased earnings) and to society (through decreases in welfare dependency and increases in taxes paid). While these have never been carefully measured in the CCC, P/PV is involved in a long-term study to assess these benefits to youth. In short, when assessing whether such an effort is expensive or not, one must consider the benefits accrued.

The Budget

The CCC's FY 1985-1986 budget is $43.7 million, which looks like a large increase over previous years. This is somewhat misleading. Adjusted for inflation and special items in the CCC budget, the operating budget has remained essentially constant for the last three years. During the past two years, the legislature has augmented the CCC budget to enable it to support local, non-CCC corps. Approximately $2 million in the FY 1985-1986 budget is set aside for grants to locally based, non-residential programs other than those directly operated by the CCC. In addition, the legislature this year allocated $1.8 million to the CCC for one-time capital improvements.

Table 10 breaks CCC costs into component parts for the last three fiscal years. Over 40 percent of CCC expenditures are for corpsmember wages and fringe benefits and roughly 33 percent for staff salaries and benefits. Though the CCC is predominantly a residential program, less than 5 percent of the budget is spent on corpsmember room and board, for which the program is reimbursed by the corpsmembers themselves from corpsmember wages.

Table 10
Costs of the California Conservation Corps

	FY 1983-84		FY 1984-85		Projected FY 1985-86	
	Dollars	Percent	Dollars	Percent	Dollars	Percent
Staff Salaries and Benefits	11.12M	32%	12.42M	34%	13.38M	33%
Facilities Operation	2.04	06	1.55	04	1.85	04
Equipment and Supplies, including one-time capital outlays	2.02	06	1.62	05	2.82	07
General Expenses and Insurance, including grants to local corps	3.25	09	3.73	10	5.25	13
Department of Forestry Staff	1.42	04	1.13	03	1.13	03
Corpsmember Wages and Benefits	14.65	43	16.05	44	16.21	40
TOTAL COSTS	34.50M	100%	36.50M	100%	40.64M	100%
Corpsmember Expenses, later reimbursed*	3.10M		3.04M		3.09M	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	37.60M		39.54M		43.73M**	
NET OPERATING COSTS (Total expenditures less reimbursed room and board for corpsmembers, grants to local corps, and one-time capital outlays)	34.50M	(Less 3.10M)	35.50M	(Less 4.04M)	36.79M	(Less 6.98)

	FY 1983-84	FY 1984-85	FY 1985-86
Average Number of Corpsmembers	1745	1850	1945
Cost per slot	$19,771	$19,189	$18,895
Cost per slot adjusted for inflation	$19,771	$18,450	$17,469

*Corpsmembers reimburse the corps for room and board, uniforms and insurance. These figures are estimates, based on projections of the number of corpsmembers who will be served.

**This is the budget submitted to the legislature. The final budget will vary somewhat.

During the last three years, the CCC has changed its structure, expanding the scope of its non-residential component and, overall, increasing the number of corpsmembers it serves while holding staff levels constant. During this period, the operating budget has increased to keep up with inflation. Therefore, the cost per slot of the program has changed little in current dollars. However, in real dollars, the cost-per-slot of the CCC has declined from close to $20,000 in FY 1983-84 to $17,435 in the projected FY 1985-86 budget. These figures take into account only the CCC's own program. They do not include funds given in grants to other local corps or the number of corpsmembers enrolled by these local corps.

Table 11 breaks down CCC costs somewhat differently, dividing them into central office, training academy and base center components.

Table 11

COSTS OF THE CCC BY MAJOR FUNCTION
FY 1985-86

	FY 1985-86	
	Dollars	Percent
Central Office	$ 3.9M	11%
Training Academy	3.7	10
Base Centers	29.2	79
Total	$36.8M	100%

Notes: Figures here are only for the operating budget. They do not include grants to local corps, corpsmember reimbursements or one-time capital improvements. Training academy costs listed here include $.8 million for wages and benefits of entering corpsmembers, net of reimbursements for room and board.

The figures in Table 11 suggest that for each corpsmember slot in FY 1985-86, $2,000 goes to central administration and $1900 goes to training academy costs. The $1,900 going to training academy costs, however, includes corpsmember wages while they are at the academy.

Costs of CCC Centers

Table 12 compares the costs of a typical CCC residential center with costs at a typical non-residential satellite. The figures presented here are estimates based on the staffing patterns at these centers and on previous-year center operating expenses.

It should be noted that such a breakdown of costs severely underestimates the costs of a non-residential slot in a satellite and exaggerates the difference between residential and non-residential costs. This results from the fact that residential center staff are "borrowed" for satellite operations. Exactly how much of the residential staff costs ought to be attributed to the non-residential satellite is not easy to determine; yet it is clear that the proportion of residential salary costs that would be apportioned to the satellite would vary with the size of the satellite.

Table 12

ESTIMATES OF COST DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A TYPICAL CCC RESIDENTIAL CENTER AND NON-RESIDENTIAL SATELLITE

	Residential	Non-Residential
Staff Salaries and Benefits	$407,707	$40,000
Operating Expenses & Utilities	291,500	20,000
Corpsmember Salaries & Benefits	608,632	246,617
Corpsmember Reimbursements	-144,842	-12,600
Net Expenditures	$1,162,997	$284,017
Number of Corpsmembers	75	30
Cost Per Slot (at center)	$15,507	$9,800
Cost Per Slot (including central office & academy)	$18,799	$13,036

Notes: The non-residential satellite cost breakdown is an estimate based on current staffing patterns and previous-year operating expenses at non-residential centers. Note that the costs of non-residential slots are underestimated due to the fact that staff from residential centers are responsible for many functions at the satellite. Note also, that there is a discrepancy between the cost per slot reported earlier for FY 84-85 ($19,000) and the cost per slot implied by the above table. Given that roughly 20 percent of CCC slots were non-residential in FY 1984-85, numbers presented here translate to an aggregate cost per slot of $17,646. This discrepancy results from the following factors: the more expensive fire centers have not been included in the calculations; a few residential centers have to pay rent; 45-corpsmember satellites are more expensive than smaller satellites; and some CCC capital expenditures and supportive services are not included in the tabulations.

A more realistic perspective on what non-residential slots cost could be obtained by examining the costs of operating non-residential centers. Table 13 compares the costs of residential and non-residential centers in the CCC for FY 83-84, the last fiscal year in which non-residential centers operated independently.

Table 13

COSTS OF TYPICAL RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL CENTERS
FY 1983-84

	Residential	Non-Residential
Staff Salaries & Benefits	$314,851	$276,061
Operating Expenses & Utilities	275,000	75,000
Corpsmember Salaries & Benefits	509,935	608,322
Corpsmember Reimbursements	-119,736	-31,080
Net Expenditures	$980,050	$959,383
Number of Corpsmembers	62	74
Cost per Slot (at center)	$15,809	$12,964
Cost per Slot (including central office & academy)	$19,691	$16,846

Notes: These figures are based on CCC tabulations. Note that there is a discrepancy between the cost per slot reported earlier of $20,000 for FY 1983-84 and the cost per slot implied by the table. Given that roughly 13 percent of CCC slots were non-residential during FY 1983-84, the numbers presented here translate to a cost per slot of $19,320. This is lower than the $20,000 cost per slot of the CCC for FY 1983-84 because more expensive fire centers were not included in the calculation and because some CCC centers have to pay rent.

The figures in Table 13 indicate costs of about $2,845 more per year per corpsmember for residential slots. However, this does not take into account that during FY 1983-84, the typical residential center had 62 corpsmembers, while the typical non-residential center had 74 corpsmembers. Holding corpsmember size constant, the gap between the costs of residential and non-residential full-scale centers is reduced to $2,346.

Table 14 lists expenditures for the training academy.

Table 14

TRAINING ACADEMY COSTS
FY 1983-84

Staff Salaries & Benefits	$ 784,743
Operating Expenditures	1,427,958
Ongoing Corpsmembers	
Salaries and Benefits	533,035
Reimbursements	-119,736
Entering Corpsmembers	
Salaries and Benefits	1,107,104
Reimbursements	-241,200
Total Expenditures	$3,491,904
Academy Graduates in FY 1983-84	1,831
Cost per Academy Graduate	$1,907

The issue of training academy costs is complicated. Total annual costs are $3.5 million. However, the academy processes 200 new corpsmembers each month. If the academy were closed and entering corpsmembers were trained at individual base camps, either an extra center would have to be opened or capacity and staff would have to be expanded at existing centers. The incremental cost of the training academy, then, is much less than its $3.5 million operating expenses would suggest, but by how much we are not able to say.

CCC Sources of Revenue

Table 15 lists sources of funds received during the last three fiscal years.

As is clear in Table 15, the California Environmental License Plate Fund, the Energy Resources Programs Account and Reimbursements for Work Projects made up a fair percentage of CCC funding in FY 1983-84, the first year of the Deukmejian Administration.

Table 15

FUNDING SOURCES OF THE CCC

	FY 1983-84	FY 1984-85	Projected FY 1985-86
General Fund	$15.85M	$28.46M	$32.30M
California Environmental License Plate Fund	7.55	--	--
Energy & Resources Fund	.50	--	--
Energy Resources Program Account, General Fund	4.61	4.71	4.99
Corpsmember Reimbursements for Room and Board	3.10	3.04	3.09
Reimbursements for Work Projects and Other Reimbursements	5.99	3.33	3.35
	$37.60M	$39.54M	$43.73M

In previous years virtually all of CCC support came from the General Fund. Beginning in FY 1984-85, the Deukmejian Administration restored General Fund monies as the predominant source of CCC funding.

Cost Issues

From a policy perspective, the two main CCC cost issues revolve around the concept of annual cost per slot. The first issue is whether, at a cost of over $18,000 each year per slot, the CCC is an inordinately expensive youth development program. The second is whether reductions in cost per slot can be viewed as a measure of program efficiency.

As a class of programs, all youth conservation corps tend to be expensive relative to more traditional youth employment and training efforts. The original Civilian Conservation Corps was criticized for having a higher cost per slot than Works Progress Administration (WPA) and National Youth Administration (NYA) pro jects. A reason given for OMB opposition to the federal YACC program -- and for President Reagan's pocket veto of American Conservation Corps (ACC) legislation -- was the relatively high cost per participant of such programs.

It is difficult to assess whether the program is expensive or not without first considering its benefits. Unlike traditional employment and training programs, the production of useful conservation work is a major goal of the CCC and work of considerable value is done. In fact, there is some evidence that suggests that the CCC might be able to pay for itself just by virtue of the benefits of the work done by the corpsmembers. Thus, the production emphasis yields greater benefits than would a sole emphasis on development.

But it costs money to accrue these benefits because resources are needed to ensure that productive work is done. The CCC has always been willing to pay the extra dollars to ensure productivity, even if it involves higher cost per slot. For example, it has been paying for its own supervisors at the worksite to control production. Further, residential centers, a headquarters planning staff and a training academy all contribute to enlarging the expenses of the CCC. But each of these program components plays a key role in the CCC's emergency response capability and its ability to conduct useful conservation work.

Just as it is misleading to compare different programs solely on the basis of cost per slot, it is similarly questionable to view reductions in a program's cost per slot solely as gains in efficiency. An education or training program's cost per slot takes into account both the efficiency of the program and the quality of services it provides. For example, if a public school system reduces its cost per pupil by cutting back on waste, this is a gain in efficiency. However, if it reduces its cost per pupil by laying off teachers and increasing class sizes, there may well be a loss in quality.

Using cost per slot as a measure of efficiency in conservation corps is particularly inappropriate because of the multiple objectives of these programs. When the CCC is viewed as a natural resource agency as opposed to a youth development program, the concept of cost per slot has no relevance. It makes little sense, for example, to look at the cost per employee of the National Park Service, or to view a reduction in cost-per-employee in the U.S. Forest Service as an increase in the efficiency of that agency, without considering changes in output.

The CCC -- like any public or private enterprise -- should attempt to operate as efficiently as possible. Cost per slot, however, should not be used as the sole measure of its efficiency. Benefits from the work and youth development program ought to be considered as well.

VIII. THE CCC REORGANIZATION

When the new director took over the CCC in the summer of 1983, he was faced with a cut of $2 million in the program's $37 million operating budget. He also had the charge (consistent with the governor's policy for all state agencies) of making the CCC more efficient. In a critical early decision, Sheble determined that budget cuts would come at the expense of staff or costs of operations rather than at the expense of corpsmember strength. Based on the $2 million cut, coupled with the determination to demonstrate gains in efficiency, the CCC director entered into a reorganization of the CCC which involved a consolidation of certain centers, a change in structure and increase in size of the non-residential component of the program, and a change of staffing patterns at the center level.

Two years later, the CCC has emerged from this reorganization with a significantly different structure than it had previously. Twenty-six centers have been consolidated into 18. The proportion of CCC participants enrolled at non-residential sites has increased from 13 percent to 25 percent; but the character of the non-residential component has changed dramatically -- from three completely independent, fully self-sufficient non-residential centers to a network of 20 smaller, more dependent, non-residential satellites attached to one of the residential centers. Overall, the cost-per-slot in the program in real dollars has dropped from $20,000 to $17,500 a year.

It is important to note that while numerous changes have been effected over the last two years, the program is still undergoing significant changes. Because of these constant changes, describing the CCC is a bit like describing a moving train.

Nevertheless, the reorganization of the CCC should be of interest to other youth corps programs because, in a sense, it gives them two CCC's to learn from -- one prior to reorganization, and one after the reorganization. In this chapter, we first discuss the reorganization of the CCC's non-residential component. We then describe more fully changes made in the overall staffing structure of the CCC as a result of the reorganization. Finally, we raise issues which the reorganization has brought to the fore.

Reorganization of the Non-Residential Component

Prior to the reorganization, the CCC had three non-residential centers which were located in central city areas in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno. These non-residential centers resembled their full-scale residential counterparts in all respects, save one -- they did not provide room and board, evening meals, and weekend activities. They were slightly larger than residential centers -- maintaining an enrollment of 72 corpsmembers even before most residential centers switched from 60 to 72 corpsmembers.

Such full-scale, independent non-residential centers have ceased to exist. In their place, the program set up a system of small, non-residential satellites which are attached to residential centers. Currently, 16 of the 18 residential centers have at least one non-residential satellite, and some have two, ranging in size from 15 to 45 non-residential corpsmembers.

Four of the non-residential satellites have 45 corpsmembers. These larger satellites are located in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno, and take the place of the discontinued independent non-residential urban centers. Two 30-corpsmember satellites have been set up in the Los Angeles area; and other 30-corpsmember satellites are located in Sacramento and Santa Rosa. Smaller, 15-corpsmember satellites are located in other cities and towns such as Oakland, Santa Maria, Eureka, and Santa Cruz.

As discussed in Chapter II, the 45-corpsmember satellites are staffed by a C-II and three C-Is. Satellites with 15 or 30 corpsmembers are staffed only by C-Is. The area manager and center administrator at the base residential center are responsible for the overall operation of the satellites.

Changes in Staffing Patterns

Until 1984, each of the 26 CCC centers were managed by a center director with a rank of CA-I, and two C-IIs. One C-II coordinated the work program at the center; the other coordinated corpsmember development activities. When the center director was away, one of the two C-IIs was left in charge of the center. Each center had a C-I for each of its work crews, plus an additional C-I to assist with corpsmember development. Overseeing the 26 CCC centers were three regional deputies with the rank of CA-II.

Changes in staffing patterns accompanied the reorganization. First, as each center expanded to include non-residential as well as residential components, top management at the center level was expanded to include two positions -- initially labeled center director and assistant center director, but subsequently titled area manager and center administrator. Second, the position of curriculum coordinator was abolished -- leaving each residential center with just one C-II position. Third, the number of regional dupties was reduced from three to two.

Area managers are classified as CA-II, the former rank of regional deputies; center administrators are classified CA-I, the former rank of center directors. CA-IIs were given overall responsibility for running their centers and satellites, but were expected to concentrate on long-range planning and community liaison. CA-Is are responsible for the day-to-day operation of both the residential centers and non-residential satellites.

Consistent with their promotion, CA-IIs are expected to take a broader view of the center director's position than had been the case in the past -- to see themselves as responsible for public service conservation work in the geographic area assigned to their centers. Hence, the new title of area manager. CA-IIs have also been given new statewide responsibilities. Each serves on one of four program planning committees for the entire CCC.

With the promotion from the CA-I to CA-II rank, center directors moved from a supervisory to a managerial position in the California Civil Service System. Like all managers in the system, CA-IIs are in a permanent probation status.

Without the curriclum coordinator C-II at each center, responsibility for corpsmember development activities fell to the C-I who formerly shared that assignment with the C-II. The CCC now makes more use of outside resources, including volunteers and community colleges, to make up for the lost C-II. Also, the CA-I at each center is expected to take up part of the slack.

Reorganization Issues

The reorganization of the CCC created many new issues for the program, principally in relation to the non-residential satellites; the division of responsibility between area managers and center administrators; the changes in mid-level supervisory responsibilities; and the maintenance of program quality.

The Shift to Non-Residential Satellites

The proportion of non-residential slots in the CCC has increased from 13 to 25 percent. Originally, the corps was entirely residential; it was not until the program was two years old that the Central Los Angeles non-residential center was opened. During the period in which the CCC made its name and became a success, it was over 90 percent residential. Moreover, the residential emphasis of the CCC is crucial to its fire emergency response capability: residential corpsmembers are available around the clock to respond to an emergency request.

The availability of non-residential slots allows the program to serve youth who cannot or do not wish to participate in its residential component. For example, larger proportions of women participate in the non-residential component. In addition, by locating non-residential sites in center city areas of Los Angeles, San Diego and Fresno, the CCC has been able more readily to expand the number of minority youth in the program.

Clearly, there is a role in the CCC for the non-residential component. How large that role should be -- given the program's historical residential emphasis and its emergency response capability -- will continue to be a point of contention in the CCC.

A related issue raised by the reorganization was what type of non-residential component to offer; possibilities ranged from a highly-structured and contained program similar to that in the residential centers, to the less structured and decentralized activities of the new satellites.

In the previous full-scale non-residential centers, the CCC offered corpsmembers a structured program. Non-residential corpsmembers had a fully-equipped center to which they reported each day; they had their own work coordinator, corpsmembers' development coordinator and center director; and the status of their center within the CCC was equal to that of any residential center. While remediation and educational services were inherently difficult to provide to non-residential corpsmembers, the educational offerings at full-scale non-residential centers were on par or almost on par with those at residential centers. The new satellites provide a far less structured environment.

It is still too early to evaluate the new non-residential satellite system. There are some positive features. They have enabled the CCC to expand the number of geographic areas it serves -- in particular, permitting it to move into smaller cities and towns such as Eureka, Santa Rosa, Santa Maria and Redding. If the work projects in these non-residential sites are successful and the corpsmember experiences positive, this should increase interest in and public support for the overall CCC program. Because the satellite system allows the CCC to hire more corpsmembers -- and thus more work crews -- satellites may also expand the amount of conservation work conducted by the CCC. However, such an outcome depends on the assumption that satellite crews engage in projects as productive or significant as those of the residential crews. This may not necessarily be the case.

Still, the quality of the new non-residential experience must be closely monitored by the CCC. The first issue is whether youth in these satellites are as productive as residential youth. This concern stems from the fact that less staff time is available for work project development for the satellites and residential staff are not as accessible to C-Is in satellites for guidance and supervision.

The second issue is whether youth development -- particularly remediation -- can be as effective in the new non-residential satellites when the C-Is have responsibility for this as well. Some staff reported reluctance to select youth with strong remedial needs for non-residential (satellite) positions. This may be a possible explanation for why non-residential corpsmembers appear to be somewhat better educated than residential corpsmembers. (See the California Conservation Corps: An Analysis of Participant Characteristics, P/PV).

Another issue is whether corpsmembers at non-residential satellites identify with the CCC and feel part of a larger effort, and whether these youth are missing out by not having a senior-level staff person assigned exclusively to the satellite. Some staff fear, for example, that non-residential enrollees perceive themselves as second-class citizens. A center director told us that while he could learn all the names of residential corpsmembers, it would be impossible for him to learn the names of non-residential corpsmembers in the new satellites.

A strength of the CCC has always been that it is more than just a nine to five work program. It provides an intense experience for youth that includes working with a number of adult role models; it is concerned with youth development beyond mere socialization to the world of work, and it aims to instill the feeling of being part of a statewide conservation corps. The CCC will have to determine whether it can accomplish this without the assignment of senior-level staff to non-residential sites.

Changes in Center Staffing

Staffing changes brought about by the reorganization have also created a number of new issues. The primary one is whether it is a good use of resources to have the equivalent of two directors assigned to each center. From the start, the division of responsibilities between the CA-II and CA-I at each center has not been clearly delineated by the administration. The main guideline is that the CA-II be concerned with long-term planning and the C-I be responsible for day-to-day operations. In practice, CA-IIS AND CA-Is at many centers have worked out smooth working relationships along these lines while in others, they have not.

On paper, the CA-II/CA-I structure appears best suited to a corps three or four times the size of the current CCC. CA-IIs have the rank formerly held by regional deputies. As such, each CA-II might be in charge of three or four centers. Beneath each CA-II, three or four CA-Is could be responsible for individual centers.

In practice, there is sufficient work for both CA-IIs and CA-Is at each center, and in some cases the design works well. There may be alternative staffing patterns, however, which might better serve the CCC and better utilize the talents of both CA-IIs and CA-Is. For example, residential corpsmembers now have two center directors who know them individually, while non-residential corpsmembers usually have none.

One option open to the CCC would be to let CA-IIs take over all responsibilities at residential centers, and put CA-Is in charge of the non-residential component of the program. The 45- and 30-corpsmember satellites could, for example, become small, independent centers, and the [illegible]-corpsmember satellites within a local area could be grouped together under an umbrella non-residential center.

Other staffing issues raised by the reorganization relate to changes in mid-level supervisory responsibilities at centers. First, the loss of the education coordinator position (C-II) at each center leaves a gap in the corpsmember development component. This has been discussed in the corpsmember development chapter of this report. Second, the work coordinator (C-II) position has been somewhat affected. The satellites with 45 corpsmembers have their own C-II to handle project development. For the 11 centers with 30- or 15-corpsmember satellites, however, the addition of satellite crews has meant extra project development responsibilities for the work coordinator. Third, work crew supervisors were affected by the reorganization in that, with the loss of one of the two C-II positions at each center, advancement opportunities for C-Is were effectively cut in half.

Maintenance of Quality

A final concern that is raised by the reorganization, a concern that underlies all the satellite and staffing issues discussed here, is the extent to which the reductions in cost-per-slot resulting from reorganization were achieved at the expense of program quality. The reorganization has reduced the cost-per-slot of the CCC, in real dollars, from $20,000 to $17,500 a year. The program is now able to serve more youth with the same level of staff. However, it is not clear how much this reduction in cost-per-slot is due to increased efficiency and how much is due to program changes that affect the quality of the program and its ability to meet its basic goals. This topic warrants continued debate within the CCC.

IX. CCC LONG-TERM ISSUES

In this chapter we discuss a few emerging long-term issues facing the CCC: the possibility of expansion, the placing of corpsmembers individually rather than in crews, the increased workload of CCC staff, the increased emphasis placed on corpsmember development, and the increased emphasis placed on developing projects of ecological significance.

Two other issues of long-term importance to the CCC are the extent to which the program should be non-residential, and how the non-residential component should be designed. However, these two points were covered in detail in the previous chapter and will not be discussed again here.

Expansion of the CCC

The size of the program has always been an issue within the CCC. During most years of its existence, it has maintained an average enrollment of around 1,700 corpsmembers. In FY 1981-82, plans were made for an enrollment of 2,140 corpsmembers in 27 full-scale centers across the state; cutbacks in federal and state funds ended those plans.

Beside the obvious fact that expansion depends on the availability of funds, there are at least four addditional factors that potentially constrain CCC expansion. These include the amount of work available, the number of youth available, the organizational point at which the program would become unwieldy to manage, and the number of other youth conservation corps that exist in California.

Work sponsors and project coordinators in the CCC reported to us that there is a great deal of conservation work to be done in California -- enough they believe, for a program two to three times the size of the CCC. Project coordinators note that there is more than enough work to keep their own centers busy, and that, moreover, there are large sections of the state hardly touched by the CCC at its current size.

In terms of youth availability, applications to the CCC fluctuate greatly from period to period, depending on such factors as media exposure, type and degree of recruitment efforts, the number of emergencies that occur during the year and the economy. During one period in 1983, some EDD offices had waiting lists of over 70 youth to fill the five or six CCC slots available each month. During 1984, when the CCC did not get much TV exposure, the economy was improving, and only a limited number of EDD offices were recruiting for the CCC, applications were just barely filling program slots. Recently, when the program initiated a big recruitment drive to fill slots at new satellites, the satellite for the Placer Energy Center received 350 inquiries for 32 slots. When the CCC makes the effort, it appears to have no trouble getting sufficient numbers of applicants.

Comparisons between the number of youth served each year and census figures for the overall population of youth in California indicate that the program serves each year less than half of 1 percent of California youth between the ages of 18 and 23. This proportion is so small that changes in the economy should have little impact on CCC potential enrollment. Since 1977, the unemployment rate among 16-19 year olds in California has fluctuated between 17 and 23 percent. The CCC's annual enrollment of less than 1 percent of California youth is small compared to the number of unemployed youth in California both in good times and in bad. The CCC may have to recruit a little harder in good economic times, but the youth are available.

Probably more of a constraint than either available work or numbers of youth is how large the CCC can grow and still maintain its organizational integrity, cohesion and spirit. Some CCC staff whom we interviewed believed that the program could double in size and still function successfully.

Another potential constraining factor is the number of other youth conservation corps programs operating in California. Within the last three years, locally-based conservation corps have been initiated in Marin County, San Francisco, the East Bay area of California, Sacramento and Sonoma County. These locally-based conservation corps provide youth with highly structured programs quite similar to that of the full-scale non-residential centers formerly run by the CCC. The funds to start these local corps came from a variety of sources, including foundation grants, cost-reimbursiable project commitments, state appropriations and federal JTPA and Community Block Development Grant programs.

The number of locally-based conservation corps will increase over the next few years. For example, a Los Angeles Conservation Corps will soon begin operations. However, the CCC could probably double in size and still not be in competition with these local programs for either enrollees or work projects. When the federal YACC program was in existence in the late 1970s and early 1980s. There were over 3,100 corpsmember slots in California between the CCC and YACC programs. Currently, between the CCC and local conservation corps, there are roughly 2,250 corpsmember slots in the state.

A question that directly follows from whether the CCC should expand is what form such expansion should take. A variety of possibilities are open to the CCC. One option would be to expand the local conservation corps -- either by providing support to programs that already exist or by encouraging other localities to start such independent programs. A second option -- certainly the direction the CCC is going -- would be to expand its non-residential satellites into additional cities and towns in the state. A third option -- which the CCC is currently considering -- would be for the Corps to expand simply by providing funds to local government agencies to operate their own conservation crews under the general aegis of the CCC.

A fourth option for expansion would be to increase the number of residential centers in the state. As discussed in the previous chapter, the CCC's current staffing structure of CA-IIs and CA-Is could clearly accommodate such a residential expansion. A fifth option would be to expand by reverting to a system of full-scale non-residential centers in place of the now existing non-residential satellites.

Obviously, the question of how the CCC should expand is very much related to the issues of residential versus non-residential programming and what type of non-residential component the CCC wishes to offer. It is also related to the issues of how much control the CCC wishes to retain in expansion efforts and how much of a standardized experience the CCC wants to ensure that corpsmembers receive. For example, expansion through existing local conservation corps does not give the CCC much control over program design. Funding local government agencies to operate their own conservation crews would give the CCC more control in program design, but might offer corpsmembers in these slots a much less structured program than they would receive either in the CCC or in locally-based conservation corps.

To a limited extent, the CCC already has funds available to support local non-residential corpsmember slots in the state. In 1984, state legislation sponsored by John Garamendi authorized $1 million to support local conservation corps efforts for the latter half of FY 1984-85. The CCC was given the responsibility for distributing these funds to local areas and for overseeing the use of the funds. Recently, the legislation providing state funds for these programs has been extended a full year, with an allocation of $2 million for FY 1985-86.

During the first year that these funds were authorized, the CCC distributed money to local conservation corps through competitive bids, and each existing local conservation corps in California received some share of the available money. The CCC's oversight role for these funds consisted mainly of accounting responsibility, to make sure the money was used appropriately. At this point, it is unclear how local conservation corps funds will be distributed this year. It is possible that the CCC will, as discussed above, fund local government agencies to directly sponsor non-residential conservation crews of their own. The program and staff must address the issue of how much CCC program integrity is lost through this approach.

Use of Corpsmembers in Individual Placements

An integral part of the CCC design has always been development of work projects that can be done in crews as opposed to simply subcontracting out individual corpsmembers to other agencies. Recently, the CCC has begun to consider developing internship positions in state government for corpsmembers who seem ready to move on from the CCC to other employment. The internships could be in any number of occupations -- ranging from automotive mechanics to forestry work to clerical work. As interns, corpsmembers who have been successful in the CCC could receive occupational training in other state agencies and might gain career positions in state government.

Independent of the development of the internship idea, the governor mandated in 1984 that the CCC become involved in a new internship program in state parks. CCC interns now perform various clerical and maintenance tasks at state parks. For the most part, these tasks have been performed by seasonal park emloyees who were laid off the previous year. In many cases, these laid-off seasonal employees were in nine-month positions that carried over from year to year and thus approached being fulltime jobs.

While this new state park program bears some resemblance to the internship idea that CCC staff had been developing, there are many important differences. The state park internship program is not aimed at corpsmembers who are ready to leave the CCC -- even new corpsmembers can be assigned as state park interns. It does not provide skilled occupational training, since most interns are assigned to basic clerical and maintenance duties. And finally, it is not intended to lead to career positions in state government.

For the most part, the state park internship program represents simply another work project for the CCC, but one which provides individual placements in the Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) rather than work in crews. As discussed above, this is a fundamental departure from the original design of the CCC. It raises the question of whether individual placements of entering corpsmembers in clerical and maintenance positions are consistent with the work and youth development goals of the CCC.

A strength of the work crew system is that it enables the program to control not only corpsmember assignments, but also worksite supervision and discipline. In providing its own worksite supervisors, the CCC can insure that corpsmembers are learning the work ethic and can guard against corpsmembers being assigned menial or make-work tasks. In placing regular corpsmembers in individual job assignments with sponsoring agencies, the CCC sacrifices this control over work assignments, worksite discipline and supervision.

Another major issue arises from the fact that the new state parks internship program makes it appear that corpsmembers are displacing other workers, a situation that the CCC has otherwise successfully avoided to date. While the CCC was not in fact responsible for lay-offs of seasonal park employees, the situation presents an appearance that could seriously damage the reputation of the program and undermine its constituency.

Workload of CCC Staff

Another long-term issue facing the CCC relates to staffing policies. The CCC is operated with little, if any, slack in its staffing. Each center has sufficient numbers of work supervisors to cover each of its work crews, but has no extra supervisor to take over for other C-Is who get sick, go on vacation, or go on training. Each center has a project coordinator, but in centers with 15- and 30-corpsmember satellites, the C-II has as many as eight crews for which to develop and oversee projects.

Area managers, center administrators, project coordinators and crew supervisors all put in long work days in the CCC; longer during emergency operations. The length of work weeks and appropriate rotations of emergency assignments have always been important issues in the Corps.

Steps to reduce work pressures on both project coordinators and crew supervisors could include adding an extra C-I at each center to fill many roles. An extra C-I would make it easier for other C-Is to take days off for personal reasons or for training; could serve as an apprentice C-II, taking some of the workload off the regular C-II; and could work on special projects at the discretion of the area manager or center administrator.

Emphasis on Corpsmember Development

Another long-term issue is how much time, attention and money the CCC should devote to remedial education. Research on CETA youth employment and training programs concluded that work experience alone did not significantly affect youth employability. This finding, however, was based on work experience programs far different from the CCC, and it is unclear how much emphasis, if any, these other programs placed on developing good work habits. It may be that the highly structured CCC experience does result in significant improvements in the employability of participants. P/PV's follow-up study of CCC participants will be completed in 1986 and should provide at least a preliminary answer to that question.

Nevertheless, attention to remedial education cannot but help corpsmembers. For the various reasons described in Chapter V, it is inherently difficult for conservation corps programs to develop effective educational programs for enrollees. The CCC's new link with community colleges represents a large step towards improving educational services. Still, no matter how successful this link becomes, additional steps will probably be necessary to attain a highly successful remedial education component that allows youth to increase their level of educational attainment and improves their employability. Such additional steps may require increases in staff and in the CCC's budget.

Emphasis on Developing Projects of Ecological Significance

A final long-term issue is how much emphasis to put on developing large, extended projects of long-term ecological significance. The CCC is already involved in several such extended projects, including its reforestation, salmon restoration, and energy conservation efforts. However, many staff believe that the CCC could more fully develop its potential to affect conservation in California by developing additional large-scale projects.

If the CCC wishes to do this, the main step would probably be to increase its interaction with ecologists. The CCC could do this in a number of ways. It could increase its dialogue with ecologists in the natural resource agencies which servce as CCC work sponsors -- even to the point of asking them to serve on an advisory board for the CCC's work program. It could hire an additional ecologist in its headquarters planning branch and offer training courses in natural sciences to its work coordinators. It could hire ecologists part-time as outside consultants to assess its work program. It could make more use of local chapters of the Sierra Club and the National Wildlife Association. The main purpose of this increased dialogue with ecologists would be to develop additional ideas for large, extended CCC projects.

Summary

At eight years of age, the CCC is still developing. It is facing a number of serious long-term issues. The most serious, according to senior and mid-level staff, is the extent to which the crew concept can be abridged, with corpsmembers being placed as individuals. The major concerns here are that in such individual placements, the CCC might lose the ability to ensure productive work gets done and the CCC may be displacing regular or seasonal workers. Other new issues of concern to staff are the extent to which the CCC will continue its residential emphasis and what kind of non-residential program to have. Finally, the CCC continually faces the issue of how much remediation and job development services to provide to corpsmembers.

X. RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED FOR OTHER CORPS

The CCC's legislation includes mandates both for benefiting the environment of California and for benefiting youth. The legislation states that the CCC should:

> "preserve, maintain, and enhance environmentally important lands and waters...assist in fire prevention and suppression...assist other departments within the Resources Agency in developing, rehabilitating, and restoring park-lands, recreational facilities, and historical resources; restoring salmon and steelhead spawning, nursery, and rearing habitat; restoring and preserving wildlife habitat; and enhancing reforestation in both urban and rural areas."

With regard to youth development, the CCC legislation states:

> "Through this work experience opportunity, California's youth will further their understanding and appreciation of the natural resources in addition to learning basic and fundamental work ethics which include discipline, cooperation, understanding to live and work with others and, most importantly, learning the value of a day's work for a day's wages."

After an extensive evaluation of the CCC, which has spanned three years and included interviews with staff at all levels, corpsmembers and work sponsors -- as well as site visits to CCC centers and work projects -- it is clear to us that the CCC is successfully meeting its legislative objectives. Useful work is being accomplished for natural resource agencies. Corpsmembers do learn the work ethic and do learn to live and work together. Moreover, the program appears to generate a genuine corps spirit among enrollees and staff alike.

Specific findings from the study include the following:

- In its work component, the CCC is conducting projects in conservation areas specified by its legislation. Corpsmembers work hard in the CCC's day-to-day projects; in emergency projects, corpsmembers often work to the point of exhaustion. Useful work is being accomplished on the conservation of natural resources in California. Many CCC work projects address long-term conservation needs that have been identified for the state.

- Based on numerous methods of assessing the value of work done by the CCC, it appears that work of considerable dollar value is being done by the CCC.

- In its youth development component, the CCC is most successful in teaching corpsmembers the work ethic and providing them with the self-confidence that comes from accomplishing difficult tasks. The Corps has been less consistently effective in its attempts at providing remedial education classes to corpsmembers, although new attempts are being implemented to improve this aspect of the program.

- Despite its untargeted eligibility requirements, the CCC serves large proportions of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth. Close to 50 percent of entering corpsmembers have neither a regular high school degree nor a GED. Based on self-reported income, foster child, AFDC and foodstamp data, we estimate that 48 percent of entering corpsmembers are JTPA-eligible. Combining economic and education data, we estimate that 70 percent of entering corpsmembers are at risk in the labor market (that is, either educationally or economically disadvantaged).

- Fifty-six percent of entering corpsmembers are white, 26 percent are black and 14 percent are Hispanic. Based on comparisons with 1980 census data, the CCC is enrolling disproportionately large numbers of blacks, but it is under-serving Hispanics. The CCC certainly is not selecting the most advantaged youth in the minority population. Among both blacks and Hispanics, the CCC serves disproportionately large numbers of high school dropouts and economically disadantaged youth. The white population served by the CCC is also not particularly advantaged. Sixty percent of white male enrollees, for example, do not have regular high school degrees.

- Given the combined work accomplishment and youth development goals of the CCC, the program is operated with little excess staff. Centers operate with a minimum number of work supervisors, corpsmembers pay for their room and board, and the program makes use of existing facilities rather than constructing new centers.

- Issues which the CCC will face over the next several years include possible expansion, continuation of a residential emphasis, the nature of its non-residential component, the use of corpsmembers in individual placements, the emphasis given to providing remedial education services and job development and placement services to corpsmembers, and the emphasis placed on work projects of long-term ecological significance.

Lesson for Other Youth Corps Programs

For years after the termination of the depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps, efforts were made to restore the program. Bills to recreate the old CCC were introduced in Congress in 1947, 1950, 1957, 1959 and 1963. Congressional hearings were held on the subject in 1950, 1959 and 1963. Federal programs such as the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Youth Conservation Corps and the Young Adult Conservation Corps each were based -- to one extent or another -- on aspects of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Out of all this legislative effort and federal programming, the California Conservation Corps most resembles the original CCC. Perhaps the main lesson that the California Conservation Corps offers other potential youth efforts is that the concept of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s -- with some major revisions -- is still viable today.

Even beyond the media attention that the California Conservation Corps has received, the program does appear to be an effective program. Productive work is accomplished. Corpsmembers -- many from difficult backgrounds -- work side by side and develop corps spirit. The general public, as well as public officials, are enthusiastic about the program at a time when support for public programs is low. Staff, while recognizing that the program has much room for improvement, are also enthusiastic supporters. It is useful, from the perspective of youth programming, to define the components of CCC strength. First, the CCC is effective because it is a good idea. The work is there to do. The youth are out there. The idea of bringing the work and the youth together in a service corps concept is appealing.

Second, the CCC has several sound design features that promote its strength and help to ensure its longevity.

- Emphasis on Work Accomplishment. Primacy is given to the work program, above corpsmember development or social services. It conducts projects of significant ecological benefit. Corpsmembers fight forest and wildland fires, respond to flood emergencies and work on water conservation projects. It is through this strong emphasis on production that youth learn good work habits, develop confidence and learn to work with others.

- Quality Programming. The CCC has not been operated cheaply. Costs-per-slot of between $17,000 and $20,000 per year make it one of the more expensive youth employment efforts, but not very expensive when compared to other residential programming for youth. But these extra expenses make possible the accomplishment of useful work by supporting features the CCC regards as essential for an effective program: intensive adult supervision, a full headquarters staff in Sacramento, corpsmember development activities, and special programming such as Helitak and back-country crews.

- Residential Design. The CCC has a higher proportion of its enrollees in residential centers than any other recent youth conservation corps effort. It is very difficult to identify the separate contribution of residential centers to program effectiveness, but corps spirit and acceptance of individuals from backgrounds other than one's own may be easier to develop in a residential setting. The CCC's residential design also facilitates the program's ability to respond to fire and flood emergencies.

- Non-targeted Eligibility. Unlike most government-sponsored youth employment programs, the CCC does not restrict enrollment to youth from economically disadvantaged families. It is difficult to separate the effects of non-targeted eligibility on program effectiveness, but staff and enrollees all speak in favor of the non-targeted aspect of the CCC. Even without eligibility requirements based on family income, the CCC gets high proportions of economically and educationally disadvantaged youth and gains the benefits of an untargeted program -- a broad constituency, the absence of possible stigma effects, and the advantage of having youth from different backgrounds learning from each other.

- Scale of Operations. With 18 centers and 1,900 corpsmembers, the CCC is by far the largest currently operating state conservation corps. There is no doubt that the size of the CCC contributes to its success. There are economies of scale that make a large headquarters staff and a training academy possible. There are also synergistic effects created by a large program that strengthen recruitment, public relations and the work program itself. A smaller program would also have to take a smaller role in responding to emergencies.

- Training Academy. The training academy adds cohesion to the CCC program. The three weeks of basic training there provide a common experience for all corpsmembers. Once they make it through the academy, corpsmembers have a certain confidence and determination that carries over to the remainder of their time in the CCC. For non-residential corpsmembers, the training academy provides a three-week residential experience.

Operational Lessons

Apart from the design features discussed above, the CCC offers other youth employment programs a variety of operational lessons:

1) Running a Work Program

- There is a much useful conservation work that is available for conservation corps programs. The effectiveness of the CCC's work component appears to rest upon a number of factors: The CCC gives work priority over all other aspects of the program; it maintains control over corpsmembers at the worksite by providing its own crew supervisors; it emphasizes project development both at headquarters and at centers; it has a surplus of projects available. The surplus enables it to pull crews if materials are not available, if the work to be done is not as agreed upon, or if safety or union problems develop.

- Youth conservation corps programs can be an effective source of trained work crews for emergency response. In western states prone to forest and wildland fires and Southern states which face periodic floods due to hurricanes, conservation corps programs may pay for themselves on the basis of their emergency response capability alone.

2) Promoting Youth Development

- The strength of conservation corps in youth development efforts lies in teaching youth good work habits and building the self-confidence of corpsmembers through the work program. The CCC takes full advantage of this strength by emphasizing work over education or other social service needs of corpsmembers.

- It is possible to build into conservation corps features that encourage youth development. Such features include a basic training camp, promotional opportunities to become crew leaders, and training opportunities for selected corpsmembers in areas relating to conservation work.

- It is inherently difficult to provide remedial education classes for participants in conservation corps because of the work emphasis of these programs and because so many of the youth who enroll do so precisely because of a lack of success or a interest in formal schooling.

- Youth conservation corps programs will attract a fair number of youth from difficult backgrounds who require a lot of staff attention. Staff must be trained and available to deal with such youth. Moreover, because programs such as the CCC serve such a diverse group of youth, corpsmember development activities must cover a whole range of enrollee needs and interests.

3) Operating a Conservation Corps

- The CCC's effectiveness in operating residential centers indicates that it is feasible today, as it was during the 1930s, to operate residential conservation corps programs. Given that corpsmembers in the CCC pay for their room and board and that the CCC leases many sites free in exchange for maintenance activities, residential centers in the corps are not that much more expensive to operate than full-scale non-residential programs. Residential centers are of fundamental importance to the program's emergency response capability.

- A number of existing facilities can be found to house residential centers. The CCC has located centers in old military bases, radar stations, national guard units, youth correction facilities, mental hospitals and forest fire stations. It has built only one center from scratch.

- Locating non-residential centers or satellites in urban areas can markedly increase the proportion of minority youth a conservation corps program services. Non-residential programming also appears to be a way to increase the number of female applicants served by a conservation corps.

- Excellent staff can be recruited for conservation corps programs. These programs offer opportunities not only to work with youth but also to work in an outdoor conservation program. This combination is quite appealing to a wide range of individuals.

- Staff in the work supervisor and work coordinator positions tend to work exceedingly long hours; controls need to be built into a program to avoid "burn out" in these positions.

- The center director position is of crucial importance. Even in a program with a strong headquarters unit, the center director sets the tone for each individual center.

- Finally, observations of the CCC suggest the advantages of having control over all aspects of programming, ranging from initial training of corpsmembers to supervision at the worksite. Such control tends to encourage corpsmembers to identify with the conservation corps rather than with the work sponsor, insures that proper discipline and production are maintained at work projects, and fosters the development of corps spirit.

Conclusion

The CCC is clearly a strong program that is meeting its legislative goals of doing useful conservation work and youth development. The extent to which it is having long term effects on youth will be addressed in a report on the impact of the CCC on youth to be prepared by P/PV during the following year. As noted in the introductory chapter of this report, youth conservation corps -- with their intensive supervision, emphasis on work accomplishment, non-targeted eligibility, and high quality (high cost) programming -- are a new trend in youth training programs. The CCC is currently the largest, oldest and most publicized of the youth conservation corps now operating in the United States. CCC administrators, staff and corpsmembers deserve much credit for making the CCC a worthy flagship for the youth conservation corps movement.